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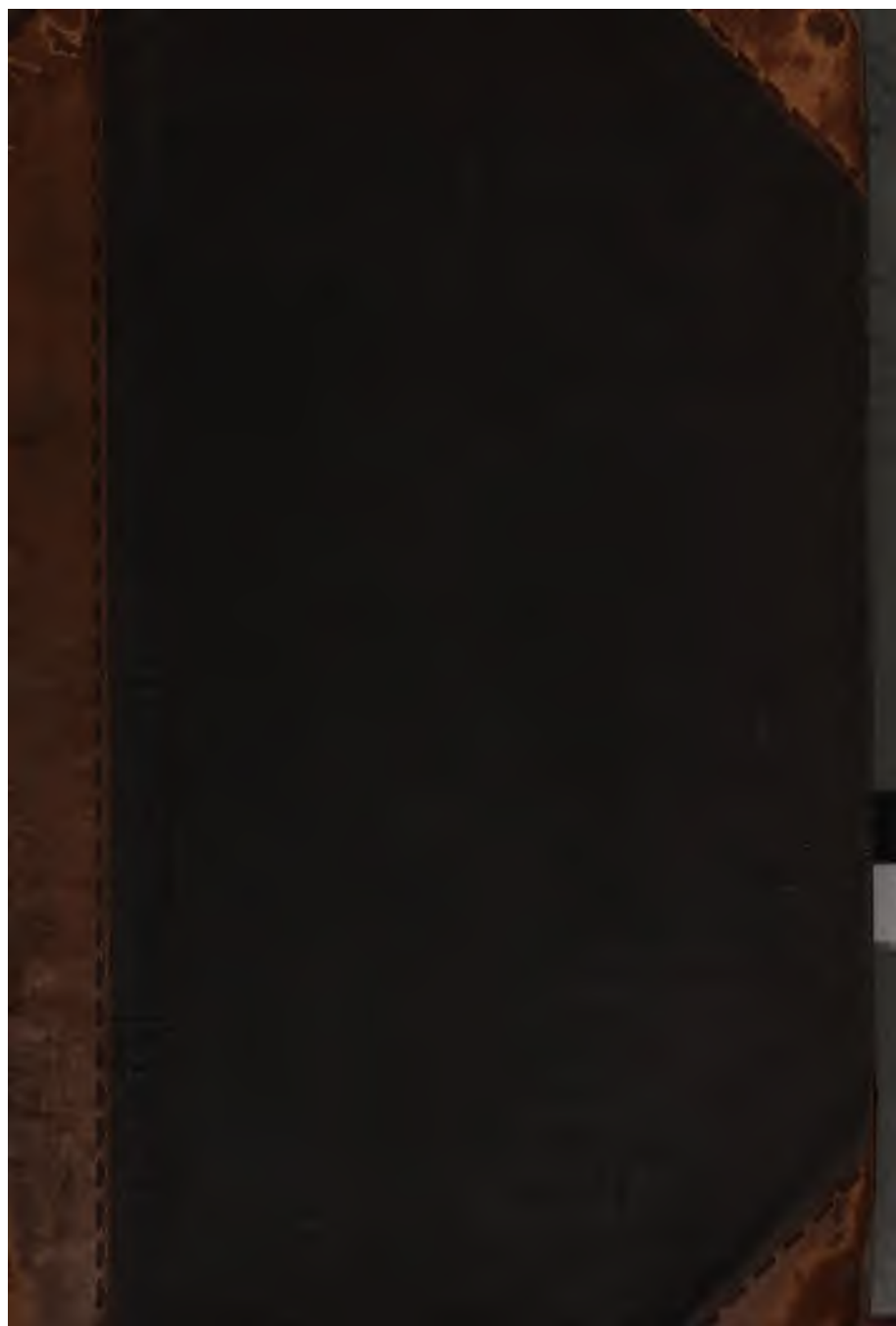
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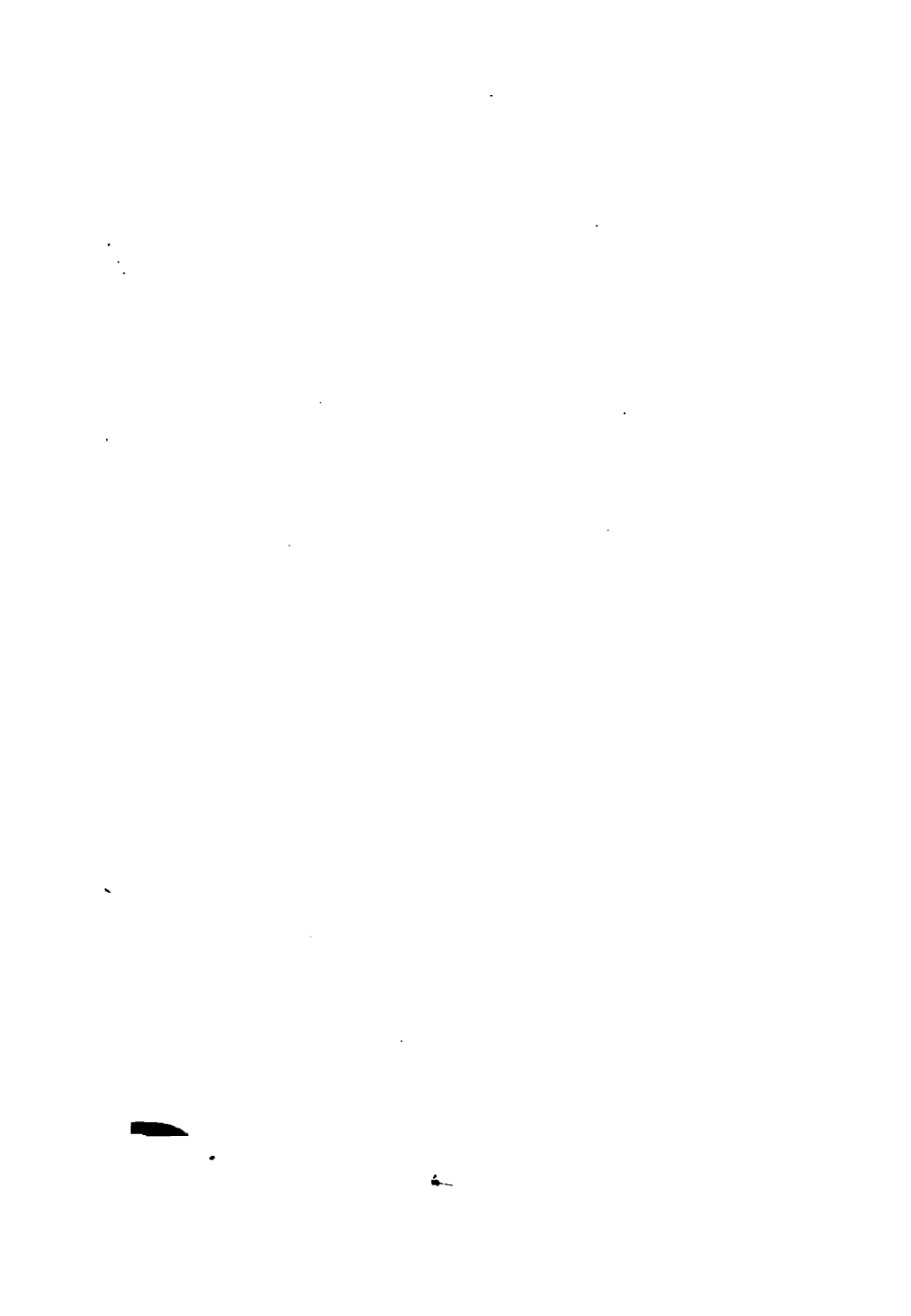








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# LECTURES AND ADDRESSES

IN AID OF

POPULAR EDUCATION;

INCLUDING

A LECTURE ON THE POETRY OF POPE.

BY

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF CARLISLE.



LONDON:

LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.

1852.



LONDON:  
SPOTTISWOODES and SHAW,  
New-street-Square.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THIS collection of LECTURES and ADDRESSES, delivered by the Earl of Carlisle before Mechanics' Institutions and other Societies of a like nature, is published, with his Lordship's permission, by the Committee of the "Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes."

In Yorkshire, this valuable class of institutions has flourished more than in any other part of the kingdom, owing, in a considerable measure, to the existence of a "Union" which now comprises 120 Institutes, containing about 20,000 members. Of that "Union," and of many of the individual Institutes, the Earl of Carlisle has been one of the earliest, most constant, and most generous friends; he gave them his high sanction and active assistance whilst Member for the West Riding, and did not withdraw it after his removal from the Lower to the Upper House of Parliament.

The LECTURES on "The Poetry of Pope" and on his Lordship's "Travels in America" were spontaneously offered by the Noble Earl to the Mechanics' Institution and Literary Society of Leeds, as the central Institution of Yorkshire, and were delivered to crowded and admiring audiences. The manuscript being presented to the Committee of the "Yorkshire Union," they were published in a cheap form, and many thousand copies were circulated among the Institutes of that and the neighbouring counties. They have also been published in *various and large impressions* in the United States.



The ADDRESSES now collected were delivered, in the order of their appearance, before several Institutions, including, besides Mechanics' Institutes, the Huddersfield College, the Manchester and Sheffield Athenæums, and the associated Sunday Schools of Halifax. They are reprinted from the newspaper reports, taken at the time; but the Noble Author has kindly taken the trouble of correcting them.

In their collected form, these Lectures and Addresses exhibit the zealous efforts of a public man, high in rank and in office, for the intellectual entertainment and moral improvement of the humbler classes of his fellow countrymen. Whilst they inform and delight the reader, may they exercise a yet higher influence; may the example of Lord Carlisle induce many men of eminent station and attainments to lend their aid to the multitudes who are seeking the means of self-improvement; and thus may the different classes of society be bound together in mutual good will, and the whole mass be leavened with knowledge, virtue, and religion!

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# LECTURES AND ADDRESSES.

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## LECTURE I.

### ON THE POETRY OF POPE.

I HAVE undertaken to read a paper on "The Poetry of Pope." My hearers, however, will be sorely disappointed, and my own purpose will have been singularly misconstrued, if any expectation should exist that I am about to bring any fresh matter or information to the subject with which I am about to deal. Such means of illustration, I trust, may be amply supplied by Mr. Croker, who has announced a new edition of Pope, — a task for which both his ability and his long habits of research appear well to qualify him. As little is it within either my purpose or my power to present you with any novelty of view, or originality of theory, either upon poetry in general, or the poetry of Pope in particular. The task that I have ventured, perhaps rashly, to impose upon myself, has a much more simple, and, I am willing to hope, less personal aim.

It is briefly this. It has seemed to me for a very long time, — I should say from about the period of my own early youth, — that the character and reputation of Pope, as a poet, had sunk, in general cotemporary estimation, considerably below their previous and their proper level. I felt ruffled at this, as an injustice to an author whom my childhood had been taught to admire, and whom the verdict of my maturer reason approved. I lamented this, because I thought that the extent of this depreciation on the one side, and of the preferences which it necessarily produced on the other, must have a tendency to mislead the public taste, and to misdirect the powers of our rising minstrels.

I allow myself the satisfaction of thinking, that there are already manifest some symptoms of that re-action, which, whenever real

merit or essential truth is concerned, will always ensue upon unmerited depression. I remember that it gave me quite a refreshing sensation to find, during my travels in the United States of America, that among some of the most literary and cultivated portions of that great community, (although I would not more implicitly trust to young America than I would to young England upon this point), the reverence for Pope still partook largely of the sounder original faith of the parent land. I fear, however, that there is still enough of heresy extant among us, to justify one who considers himself a true worshipper, who almost bows to the claim of this form of Popish infallibility, in making such efforts as may be within his power to win back any doubtful or hesitating votary to the abandoned shrine.

The attitude, then, in which I appear before you on the present occasion, is this. I look on myself as a counsel, self-constituted it is true, but for whose sincerity the absence of any fee may be considered as a sufficient guarantee; and here, then, in the short space which can be allowed by this Court for the business of the defence, I consider myself bound to put before you such pleas as I may think best calculated to get a verdict from you on my side of the case.

The best plan, which, as it appears to me, I can adopt for disarming any reasonable suspicion on the part of my jurors, (all, I feel sure, candid and enlightened men), as well as for doing justice to my own character as a critic, is to state frankly what I do not claim for my client, the late Alexander Pope. I do not, then, pretend to place him on the very highest pedestal of poetry, among the few foremost of the tuneful monarchs and lawgivers of mankind. Confining ourselves to our own country, I do not, of course, ask you to put him on a level with the universal, undisputed, unassailable, supremacy of Shakspeare — nor with Milton, of whom Mr. Macaulay has lately thus beautifully spoken: —

“A mightier spirit, unsubdued by pain, danger, poverty, obloquy, and blindness, meditated, undisturbed by the obscene tumult which raged all around, a song so sublime and so holy, that it could not have misbecome the lips of those ethereal beings whom he saw, with that inner eye which no calamity could darken, flinging down on the jasper pavement their crowns of amaranth and gold.”

*I fancy that some might wish to make a further reserve for the*

gentle fancy of Spenser, though the obsolete character of much of his phraseology, and the tediousness inseparable from all forms of sustained allegory, must, I apprehend, in these days, very considerably contract the number of his readers. Nay, I can quite allow for the preference being given to Pope's more immediate predecessor, Dryden, whose compositions, though certainly less finished and complete, undoubtedly exhibit a more nervous vein of argumentative power, and a greater variety of musical rhythm. When I have mentioned these august names, I have mentioned all, writing in the English tongue, who, in my humble apprehension, can possibly be classed before Pope.

I may observe, that in this estimate I appear to be confirmed by the present Commissioners of Fine Arts, who, in selecting the Poets from whose works subjects for six vacant spaces in the new Palace of Westminster were to be executed by living artists, named Chaucer, (who by his antiquity as well as his merits was properly appointed to lead the line of English bards), Shakspeare, Spenser, Milton, Dryden, and Pope.

Though I conceive, and you will readily concur, that the case I am endeavouring to make good must be mainly established by my client's own precise words, — and the anticipated pleasure of quoting them to attentive ears has been, perhaps, my chief inducement to undertake the office which I am now fulfilling, — yet I consider it will not be out of place for the object I have in view, especially before an audience of a nation which much delights in, and is indeed much ruled by, precedent, if I should quote a few approved authorities, (had time permitted I might have availed myself of a great number), merely for the purpose of showing that if you should be pleased to side with me in this issue, we shall find ourselves in company of which we shall have no need to be ashamed.

I shall also thus furnish a proof of what I have stated above, that I am not straining after originality or novelty of remark; indeed, I feel that I shall make way in proportion as the testimony I adduce proceeds from lips more trustworthy than my own.

What says Savage, a poet himself of irregular but no mean genius? He thus speaks of Pope: —

“ Though gay as mirth, as curious thought sedate,  
As elegance polite, as power elate,

Profound as reason, and as justice clear,  
 Soft as persuasion, yet as truth severe,  
 As bounty copious, as persuasion sweet,  
 Like nature various, and like art complete :  
 So fine her morals, so sublime her views,  
 His life is almost equalled by his muse."

Part of this commendation, I must admit, appears even to me overstrained. Some of Pope's compositions are marred by occasional coarseness and indelicacy, and his mind and character, I fear it must be allowed, were at times disfigured by envy, resentment, and littleness. Compared, however, with most of his predecessors of the reign of Charles II., and with many of his own cotemporaries, both his muse and his life may have been deemed decent and severe. He seems himself, at all events, to have indulged in this estimate of the tenor of his own productions : —

"Curst be the verse, how well soe'er it flow,  
 That tends to make one honest man my foe,  
 Give virtue scandal, innocence a fear,  
 Or from the soft-eyed virgin steal a tear."

I return to my authorities.

I do not quote Bishop Warburton, as he was the avowed apologist, as well as executor and editor, of Pope.

Dr. Joseph Warton, who wrote an essay on the genius and writings of Pope, chiefly with a view of proving what I have admitted above, that he ought not to be ranked in the highest class of poets, and who appears to wish, as I certainly do not, to have a hit at him whenever he can, concedes, however, thus much to him : —

"In the species of poetry wherein Pope excelled, he is superior to all mankind, and I only say that this species of poetry is not the most excellent one of the art. He is the great poet of reason, the first of ethical authors in verse."

Dr. Johnson, in his well-known and most agreeable "Life of Pope," says thus : —

"Of his intellectual character, the constituent and fundamental principle was good sense ;" and then, "Pope had likewise genius, *a mind* active, ambitious, and adventurous, always investigating,

always aspiring, in its widest searches longing to go forward, in its highest flights still wishing to be higher."

And at the close of the masterly contrast which he draws between Dryden and Pope, he thus sums it up: —

"If the flights of Dryden are higher, Pope continues longer on the wing; if of Dryden's fire the blaze is brighter, of Pope is the heat more regular and constant. Dryden often surpasses expectation, and Pope never falls below it; Dryden is read with frequent astonishment, and Pope with perpetual delight."

Mason, also a poet and very accomplished man, who had done so much in editing and illustrating the works of another most eminent and admirable master of his art (I refer to Gray), has shown what an exalted estimate he had formed of Pope, in the passage where he reproaches him for the undue praise which he had lavished on the famous Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke: —

"Call we the shade of Pope from that blest bower,  
Where throned he sits with many a tuneful sage;  
Ask, if he ne'er repents that luckless hour,  
When St. John's name illumined glory's page.

Ask, if the wretch who dared his honour stain,  
Ask, if his country's, his religion's foe,  
Deserved the wreath that Marlboro' failed to gain,  
The deathless meed, he only could bestow?"

George, Lord Lyttelton, another poet himself, calls him "The sweetest and most elegant of English poets, the severest chastiser of vice, and the most persuasive teacher of wisdom."

How speaks Campbell, the author of "The Pleasures of Hope," and "The Battle of the Baltic"? If any one is entitled to speak of what true poetry is, that right will not be denied to Thomas Campbell. He calls Pope "a genuine poet," and says with true discrimination: —

"The public ear was long fatigued with repetitions of his manner; but if we place ourselves in the situation of those to whom his brilliancy, succinctness, and animation were wholly new, we cannot wonder at their being captivated to the fondest admiration."

I will only further cite from the poets whom many of us remember in our own day, one still more illustrious name. The fervid, wayward, irregular, *muse of Lord Byron*, presented the strongest



points of contrast with the measured, even, highly-trained, smoothly-polished, temperament of Pope. What did Lord Byron think of Pope? He terms him, "The most perfect and harmonious of poets—he, who, having no fault, has had reason made his reproach. It is this very harmony which has raised the vulgar and atrocious cant against him—(Lord Byron was fond of using strong language):—because his versification is perfect, it is assumed that it is his only perfection; because his truths are so clear, it is asserted that he has no invention; and because he is always intelligible, it is taken for granted that he has no genius. I have loved and honoured the fame and name of that illustrious and unrivalled man, far more than my own paltry renown, and the trashy jingle of that crowd of schools and upstarts who pretend to rival or even surpass him. Sooner than a single leaf should be torn from his laurel, it were better that all which these men, and that I, as one of their set, have ever written, should line trunks."

There is another and more general testimony to the reputation, at least, if not to the actual merits of Pope, which may be here mentioned; this is, the extent to which his lines are quoted as familiar maxims and illustrations of the daily incidents of life, and the common meanings of men,—quoted often, probably, by persons who have little knowledge or recollection where the words are to be found. I am inclined to believe that, in this respect,—and it is one not to be considered slightly,—he would be found to occupy the second place, next, of course, to the universal Shakespeare himself. Allow me to cite a few instances.

When there has been a pleasant party of people, either in a convivial or intellectual view—I wish we might think it of our meeting this evening—we say that it has been—

"The feast of reason, and the flow of soul."

How often are we warned—I have sometimes even heard the warning addressed to Mechanics' Institutes, that—

"A little learning is a dangerous thing."

How often reminded,

"An honest man's the noblest work of God."

Or, with nearly the same meaning,

"Who taught the useful science, to be good."

There is a couplet which I ought to carry in my own recollection—

“What can ennoble sots, or slaves, or cowards?

Alas! not all the blood of all the Howards.”

It is an apt illustration of the office of hospitality,

“Welcome the coming, speed the going guest.”

How familiar is the instruction,

“To look, through Nature, up to Nature’s God.”

As rules with reference to composition,—

“The last and greatest art — the art to blot.”

“To snatch a grace beyond the reach of art;”

And then as to the best mode of conveying the instruction,—

“Men must be taught as if you taught them not.”

There is the celebrated definition of wit,—

“True wit is nature to advantage dressed;

What oft was thought, but ne’er so well expressed.”

Do you want to illustrate the importance of early education? You observe—

“Just as the twig is bent, the tree’s inclined.”

Do you wish to characterise ambition somewhat favourably? You call it,

“The glorious fault of angels and of gods.”

Or describing a great conqueror,—

“A mighty hunter, and his prey was man.”

Do you seek the safest rule for architecture or gardening?

“Consult the genius of the place in all;”

Or, with exquisite good sense,

“’Tis use alone that sanctifies expense,

And splendour borrows all her rays from sense.”

Are you tempted to say any thing rather severe to your wife or daughter, when she insists on a party of pleasure, or an expensive dress? You tell her,

“That every woman is at heart a rake.”

And then if you wish to excuse your own submission, you plead —

“ If to her share some female errors fall,  
Look on her face, and you'll forget them all.”

How often are we inclined to echo the truth —

“ That fools rush in where angels fear to tread.”

And this too, —

“ That gentle dulness often loves a joke.”

Who has not felt this to be true?—

“ Hope springs eternal in the human breast ;  
Man never is, but always to be blest.”

When an orator, or a Parliamentary candidate — in which last capacity I have often appeared before some of you — wishes to rail at absolute governments, he talks of —

“ The monstrous faith of many made for one.”

Then there are two maxims, one in politics and one in religion, which have both been extensively found fault with ; but the very amount of censure proves what alone I am now attempting to establish, not the truth or justice of Pope's words, but their great vogue and currency —

“ For forms of government let fools contest ;  
Whate'er is best administered is best :  
For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight ;  
His can't be wrong whose life is in the right.”

It is now time to judge Pope from his own works, by which, of course, his place in the estimate of posterity must finally stand.

I shall pass hurriedly by his earlier compositions. He tells us himself of the precocity of his genius :

“ I lisped in numbers, for the numbers came.”

But his very youthful productions, on the whole, appear to be more remarkable for their dates than their intrinsic merits. He wrote his “ Pastorals ” at sixteen. Independently of the age at which they were written, they appear to me trivial, forced, out of keeping with the English soil and life to which they are avowedly *assigned*. One piece of praise is justly their due : after the pub-

lication of these verses by a youth—we may call him a boy—of sixteen, I do not see why a rugged or inharmonious English verse need ever again have been written; and what is more, I believe very few such have been written. Mr. Macaulay says on this point, "From the time when the 'Pastorals' appeared, heroic versification became matter of rule and compass, and, before long, all artists were on a level." It was surely better that this level should be one upon which the reader could travel smoothly along, without jolts or stumbles.

In the short poem of the "Messiah," I do justice to the stately flow of verse upon the highest of human themes. Both Dr. Johnson and Dr. Warton give it a decided preference over the "Pollio" of Virgil, which is concerned with topics of close and wonderful similarity. I do not know how far they are right, but I feel quite sure that both the "Pollio" of Virgil and the "Messiah" of Pope fall immeasurably below the prose translation of Isaiah in our Bibles.

"Windsor Forest" appears to be on the whole a cold production. It contains some good lines on the poet Earl of Surrey—

"Matchless his pen, victorious was his lance,  
Bold in the lists, and graceful in the dance"—

an extremely pretty account of the flight and plumage of a pheasant, a very poetical list of the tributaries of the Thames, and some well-sounding verses on the Peace of Utrecht, then recently concluded, from which in the early part of this year I was induced to quote some lines which I thought very apposite to the proposed Exhibition of Industry of All Nations, at London, in 1851:—

"The time shall come, when, free as seas or wind,  
Unbounded Thames shall flow for all mankind,  
Whole nations enter with each swelling tide,  
And seas but join the regions they divide ;  
Earth's distant ends our glories shall behold,  
And the new world launch forth to meet the old."

The Odes written by Pope are decidedly of an inferior caste. I need not say how inferior to the immortal "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day," by Dryden, who preceded—or how inferior to Gray or Campbell, who have followed him. The Ode, perhaps, of every species of poetical *composition*, was the most alien to the genius

of Pope; its character is rapt, vehement, abrupt; his is composed, polished, methodical; his haunt would not be the mountain top or the foaming cataract, but the smooth parterre and the gilded saloon. You may prefer one bent of mind, as you would one form of scenery; the question with which I now invite you to deal is, not in what style Pope wrote, but in the style which he chose, and for which his nature best fitted him, how far he excelled.

Among the very youthful productions of Pope, there were also some adaptations from Chaucer, Ovid, and one or two more ancient authors; in point of execution they are only distinguished by their smooth versification, and the matter of them ought to have forbidden the attempt.

In speaking as I have done of many of Pope's earlier compositions, however I may assume myself to be a devoted admirer — partisan, if you should so please to term it — I conceive that I have at least shown that hitherto I am no indiscriminate praiser, who thinks that everything which proceeds from his favourite must be perfect. On the contrary, though his facility in writing verses was almost precocious, the complete mastery of his art seems to have been gradually and laboriously developed. "So regular my rage," was the description which he has himself applied to his own poetry. It was not so much "the pomp and prodigality of heaven," which have been allotted to a few; it was rather, in the edifice of song which he has reared, that nicety of detail, and that completeness of finish, where every stroke of the hammer tells, and every nail holds its exact place.

His early friend and admirer, Walsh, seems accurately to have discerned the path of excellence which was open for him, when he told him that there was one way in which he might excel any of his predecessors, which was by correctness, for, though we had before him several great poets, we could boast of none that were perfectly correct. Pope justified the advice; and if correctness is not the highest praise to which a poet can aspire, it is no mean distinction to show how an author can be almost faultlessly correct, and almost as invariably the reverse of all that is tame, mean, or flat.

There come, however, among compositions which in any one else would most strictly be called early, a few which will not bear to be dismissed with such a hasty or superficial notice. The "*Essay on Criticism*" was written when he was twenty or twenty-one years

old, and as such it appears a positive marvel. But he had now entered a field on which he was quite a master—the domain of good sense and of good taste, applied to the current literature of a scholar, and the common topics of life.

Very soon after, however, as if to show that, if he had willed it, he could have exercised as full a mastery over the region of light fancy and sportive imagery, as of sober reflection and practical wisdom, he wrote what is termed a heroi-comic poem, the *Rape of the Lock*. Dr. Johnson calls this the most exquisite example of ludicrous poetry, though I do not think the word ludicrous a happy epithet of the Doctor's; Dr. Warton calls it the best satire extant; and we are told that Pope himself considered the intermixture of the machinery of the Sylphs with the action of the story, as the most successful exertion of his art. As my business to-night is more with Pope on the whole as a poet, than with the details and the conduct of his single poems, I must not suffer myself to linger on the details of this delicious work. It is so finished and nicely fitted together that it would scarcely answer to separate any isolated passages from the context; besides, exquisite as the entire poem is, yet, the subject being professedly trivial, any single extract might appear deficient in importance and dignity. The whole is as sparkling as the jewelled cross upon the bosom of the heroine, —

“On her white breast a sparkling cross she bore,  
Which Jews might kiss, and Infidels adore.”

It is as stimulating as the pinch of snuff he so compactly describes,

“The pungent grains of titillating dust.”

But there was one other chord of the poetic lyre which Pope, still young in years, had yet to show his power to strike, and it is the most thrilling in the whole compass of song—the poetry of the passions and the heart. To this class I assign the *Elegy to the Memory of an unfortunate Lady*, and the ever memorable *Epistle from Eloisa to Abelard*. A few words will suffice here for the *Elegy*; its moral tendency cannot be defended, as it appears, incidentally at least, to excuse and consecrate suicide. In its execution it combines in a high degree poetic diction with pathetic feeling. The concluding lines are most touching:—

“Poets themselves must fall, like those they sung,  
 Deaf the praised ear, and mute the tuneful tongue.  
 Ev’n he, whose soul now melts in mournful lays,  
 Shall shortly want the generous tear he pays ;  
 Then from his closing eyes thy form shall part,  
 And the last pang shall tear thee from his heart,  
 Life’s idle business at one gasp be o’er,  
 The Muse forgot, and thou belov’d no more.”

I must pause somewhat longer on the Epistle from Eloisa to Abelard. I ought, however, before I give vent to the full glow of panegyric, to make two admissions ; one, that a sensitive delicacy would have avoided the subject ; the other, that the matter is not original, but is supplied in great degree by the actual letters of the distinguished and unfortunate pair who gave their names to the epistle. Where the adaptation, however, is so consummate, this makes a very slight deduction from the merit of the author. The poem is not long, but in point of execution it appears to me one of the most faultless of human compositions ; every thought is passion, and every line is music. The struggle between aspiring piety and forbidden love forms its basis, and the scenery and accessories of monastic life and the Roman Catholic ritual furnish a back-ground highly congenial, solemn, and picturesque.

I must endeavour to justify my panegyric by a few quotations. The commendation of letter-writing is well known.

“Heaven first taught letters for some wretch’s aid,  
 Some banish’d lover, or some captive maid ;  
 They live, they speak, they breathe what love inspires,  
 Warm from the soul, and faithful to its fires,  
 The virgin’s wish without her fears impart,  
 Excuse the blush, and pour out all the heart ;  
 Speed the soft intercourse from soul to soul,  
 And waft a sigh from Indus to the Pole.”

I give the description of the Convent founded by Abelard :—

“You rais’d these hallowed walls ; the desert smil’d,  
 And Paradise was open’d in the wild.  
 No weeping orphan saw his father’s stores  
 Our shrines irradiate, or emblaze the floors ;

No silver saints, by dying misers given,  
 Here bribe the rage of ill-requited heaven ;  
 But such plain roofs as piety could raise,  
 And only vocal with the Maker's praise."

There is the same scene coloured by Eloisa's own state of mind:—

"But o'er the twilight groves and dusky caves,  
 Long sounding aisles, and intermingled graves,  
 Black Melancholy sits, and round her throws  
 A death-like silence, and a dread repose.  
 Her gloomy presence saddens all the scene,  
 Shades every flower, and darkens every green,  
 Deepens the murmur of the falling floods,  
 And breathes a browner horror o'er the woods."

This is surely eminently poetical and expressive.

Let me give the description of her first acquaintance with Abelard:—

"Thou know'st how guiltless first I met thy flame,  
 When love approach'd me under friendship's name ;  
 My fancy form'd thee of angelic mind,  
 Some emanation of th' All-beauteous mind.  
 Those smiling eyes, attemp'ring every ray,  
 Shone sweetly lambent with celestial day.  
 Guiltless I gaz'd ; heaven listened while you sung,  
 And truths divine came mended from that tongue."

In that beautiful line, the force of human passion seems to obtain the mastery over the concerns of another life ; but I will close my extracts from this poem with the wishes she forms for their last meeting, in which piety appears finally to predominate over passion :—

"Thou, Abelard ! the last sad office pay,  
 And smooth my passage to the realms of day.  
 See my lips tremble, and my eye-balls roll,  
 Suck my last breath, and catch my flying soul !  
 Ah no — in sacred vestments may'st thou stand,  
 The hallowed taper *trembling* in thy hand."



(You remark all the force in that word "trembling:" in the next line, observe how the words "present" and "lifted" carry on the drama of the scene):—

*Present* the cross before my *lifted* eye,  
Teach me at once, and learn of me to die;  
Ah then, thy once-loved Eloisa see,  
It will be then no crime to gaze on me.

(That is, I think, a highly impassioned and pathetic line.)

See from my cheek the transient roses fly.

("Transient," in the literal meaning of the word, passing off.)

See the last sparkle languish in my eye!  
Till every motion, pulse, and breath be o'er;  
And ev'n my Abelard be loved no more.  
O death, all eloquent! you only prove,  
What dust we doat on when 'tis man we love."

It would be a strange omission in an estimate of the poetical achievements of Pope, to make no mention of his translation of Homer, though the fact of its being a translation, and its length, would both rather put it beyond the limits of my present criticism. Dr. Johnson calls his *Iliad*, and I am inclined to believe with no more than perfect truth, the noblest version of poetry which the world has ever seen. The main objection alleged against it is, that being a professed translation of Homer, it is not Homeric,—that it is full of grace and sparkle, but misses the unmatched simplicity and majesty of that great father of verse,—that, if I may so express myself, it has not the twang of Homer. All this, I think, must be admitted; by some the poems of Sir Walter Scott, and old ballads like Chevy Chase, have been thought to convey a better notion of this Homeric twang than can be gathered from all the polished couplets of Pope. Cowper (an honoured name) tried a more literal version in blank verse, which certainly may be said to represent more closely at least the simplicity of the original. Let us, however, come to the practical test—as Lord Byron has asked concerning these two translations, "Who can ever read Cowper, and who will ever lay down Pope, except for the original? As a child *I first read Pope's Homer* with a rapture which no subsequent *work could ever afford*, and children are not the worst judges of

their own language." It is no mean praise that it is the channel which has conveyed the knowledge of Homer to the general English public,—not to our scholars, of course. Though it is far less to the purpose how I felt about this as a child, than how Lord Byron felt, I too remember the days (I fear, indeed, that the anecdote will savour of egotism, but I must not mind the imputation of egotism, if it illustrates my author,) when I used to learn Pope's *Iliad* by heart behind a screen, while I was supposed to be engaged on lessons of more direct usefulness; and I fancy that I was under the strange hallucination at the time that I had got by heart the four first books. I do not mention this as a profitable example, but in order to show the degree in which this translation was calculated to gain the mastery over the youthful mind.

All the poems of Pope, to which I have already referred, belong to that period of life which, in all ordinary cases, would be called youth. I believe that they must have been nearly altogether completed before he was thirty. Those which I may further have to quote from (in doing which I shall hardly think it necessary to observe so much separate order between the different poems as heretofore), were the fruits of his matured years and settled powers. They henceforth fall under one class of composition, that which treats of men, their manners, and their morals; they are comprised under the titles of satires and moral essays. He himself speaks of the bent which his genius now adopted,

"That not in fancy's maze he wander'd long,  
But stoop'd to truth, and moraliz'd his song."

Upon which I again feel happy to find myself in full acquiescence with Lord Byron, who says, "He should have written, *rose* to truth. In my mind the highest of all poetry is ethical poetry, as the highest of all earthly subjects must be moral truth."

Lord Bolingbroke and Bishop Atterbury, certainly no mean judges of intellectual merit, declared that the strength of Pope's genius lay eminently and peculiarly in satire. What shall I, then, single out as an illustration of his satiric vein? The character of Lord Hervey, under the name of *Sporus*, is cited by Lord Byron as a specimen of his rich fancy, (generally, but most erroneously, assumed to be the quality in which Pope was chiefly deficient,) and with this specimen of fancy Lord Byron defied all his own contemporaries to *compete*. *That it does* manifest injustice at least to the

abilities of Lord Hervey, will be acknowledged by all who have read his very entertaining memoirs lately published; but moreover, able and brilliant as it is, it is too disagreeable to repeat. Let me quote, then, his famous character of Addison, who had given offence to him, whether with good reason or not it is no part of my present purpose, nor would it be in my power, to decide. Pope thought that Addison had treated him slightly and superciliously, and I believe took specially amiss the kind of notice he had bestowed upon the Rape of the Lock. He speaks of him under the name of Atticus; you will remark the consummate skill with which he first does justice to his genius, and then detracts from its lustre. It is also a great proof of the cleverness of the satire, that, sincere as our respect is both for the genius and character of Addison, it is impossible to go through this piece of dissection without believing that it must have touched upon some points of real soreness.

“Peace to all such! but were there one whose fires  
 True genius kindles, and fair fame inspires;  
 Blest with each talent and each art to please,  
 And born to write, converse, and live with ease:  
 Should such a man, too fond to rule alone,  
 Bear, like the Turk, no brother near the throne,  
 View him with scornful, yet with jealous eyes,  
 And hate for arts that caus'd himself to rise;  
 Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,  
 And without sneering, teach the rest to sneer;  
 Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,  
 Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike;  
 Alike reserv'd to blame or to commend,  
 A tim'rous foe, and a suspicious friend;  
 Dreading ev'n fools, by flatterers besieg'd,  
 And so obliging, that he ne'er oblig'd;  
 Like Cato, give his little Senate laws,  
 And sit attentive to his own applause;  
 While wits and templars every sentence raise,  
 And wonder with a foolish face of praise—  
 Who but must laugh, if such a man there be?  
 Who would not weep, if Atticus were he!”

Then I will take the character of the able, versatile, and unprincipled Duke of Wharton:—

“ Wharton, the scorn and wonder of our days,  
 Whose ruling passion was the lust of praise :  
 Born with whate’er could win it from the wise,  
 Women and fools must like him, or he dies ;  
 Tho’ wondering senates hung on all he spoke,  
 The club must hail him master of the joke.

(This couplet has been applied to the celebrated Mr. Sheridan, and does not ill suit the author of the speeches on Warren Hastings’s trial, and the School for Scandal.)

Thus with each gift of nature and of art,  
 And wanting nothing but an honest heart,  
 Grown all to all, from no one vice exempt ;  
 And most contemptible, to shun contempt ;  
 His passion still, to covet general praise,  
 His life, to forfeit it a thousand ways ;  
 A constant bounty which no friend has made ;  
 An angel tongue, which no man can persuade ;  
 A fool, with more of wit than half mankind,  
 Too rash for thought, for action too refin’d ;  
 A tyrant to the wife his heart approves,  
 A rebel to the very king he loves ;  
 He dies, sad outcast of each church and state,  
 And, harder still ! flagitious, yet not great.  
 Ask you why Wharton broke thro’ every rule ?  
 ’Twas all for fear the knaves should call him fool.”

I have given the characters of two men ; fairness demands that at least I should give you one of a woman. I take that of Chloe ; most of us will feel that we have known people, to whom some parts of it at least might fit : —

“ Yet Chloe sure was form’d without a spot —  
 Nature in her then err’d not, but forgot.  
 ‘ With ev’ry pleasing, ev’ry prudent part,  
 ‘ Say what does Chloe want ? ’ She wants a heart.  
 She speaks, behaves, and acts just as she ought,  
 But never, never reach’d one generous thought.  
 Virtue she finds too painful an endeavour,  
 Content to dwell in decencies for ever.

So very reasonable, so unmov'd,  
 As never yet to love, or to be lov'd.  
 She, while her lover pants upon her breast,  
 Can mark the figures on an Indian chest :  
 And when she sees her friend in deep despair,  
 Observes how much a chintz exceeds mohair.  
 Forbid it heav'n, a favour or a debt  
 She e'er should cancel ! but she may forget.  
 Safe is your secret still in Chloe's ear ;  
 But none of Chloe's shall you ever hear.  
 Of all her Dears she never slander'd one,  
 But cares not if a thousand are undone.  
 Would Chloe know if you're alive or dead ?  
 She bids her footman put it in her head.  
 Chloe is prudent ! — Would you too be wise ?  
 Then never break your heart when Chloe dies."

Having thus attempted to do justice to Pope's powers of satire, I must not omit to mention what I consider to be another of his felicities almost of an opposite character, though I have perceived with pleasure since I noted this topic, that I have been anticipated in the same line of remark by the late Mr. Hazlitt ; I say with pleasure, because that ingenious person was one of the guides and favourites of a school the most opposed in theory and practice to that of Pope ; I allude to the extreme tact, skill, and delicacy with which he conveys a compliment, and frequently embodies in one pregnant line or couplet a complete panegyric of the character he wishes to distinguish. Let me instance this by a few examples. Sometimes the compliment appears merely to be thrown out almost as it were by chance to illustrate his meaning. So of the Duke of Chandos, whom at another time he is supposed to have intended to ridicule under the character of Timon —

" Thus gracious Chandos is belov'd at sight."

Then of Lord Cornbury—

" Would ye be blest ? despise low joys, low gains,  
 Disdain whatever Cornbury disdains."

Of General Oglethorpe, the founder of Georgia—

" One driv'n by strong benevolence of soul  
*Shall fly, like Oglethorpe, from pole to pole.*"

These have reference to manly virtues ; sometimes there is the same oblique reference to female claims ;

“ Hence Beauty, waking all her tints, supplies,  
An angel’s sweetness, or Bridgewater’s eyes.”

At other times the eulogium is more direct. Take that fine application to Lord Cobham of the effect of man’s ruling passion, developing itself in death, which he has been pursuing through a number of instances,—the man of pleasure, the miser, the glutton, the courtier, the coquette, all, for the most part, under circumstances derogatory to the pride of human nature, when he thus sums them up —

“ And you, brave Cobham, to the latest breath  
Shall feel your ruling passion strong in death ;  
Such, in these moments, as in all the past,  
‘ Oh, save my country, Heav’n ! ’ shall be your last.”

How beautiful is the couplet to Dr. Arbuthnot, his physician and friend —

“ Friend of my life ! which did not you prolong,  
The world had wanted many an idle song.”

How ingenious that to the famous Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, on being desired to write some lines in an album with his pencil —

“ Accept a miracle instead of wit,  
See two *dull* lines by Stanhope’s pencil writ.”

How happy is the allusion to Lord Peterborough, who made a brilliant campaign in Spain within a wonderfully short time. He represents him as assisting to lay out his grounds —

“ And he whose lightning pierc’d th’ Iberian lines  
Now forms my quincunx, and now ranks my vines,  
Or tames the genius of the stubborn plain,  
Almost as quickly as he conquer’d Spain.”

He always speaks of Murray, the great Lord Mansfield, with pride and affection. It is true, that one of the worst lines he ever wrote is about him, the second in this couplet —

“ Grac’d as thou art with all the power of words,  
So *known*, so *honour’d*, at the House of Lords.”

An instance how much delicacy it requires to introduce with effect familiar names and things; sometimes it tells with great force; here it is disastrously prosaic; we almost forgive it, however, when he turns from the Palace of Westminster to the Abbey opposite —

“Where Murray, long enough his country’s pride,  
Shall be no more than Tully, or than Hyde.”

He again alludes to the aptitude for poetical composition which Murray had exhibited, and also to the talent for epigram which he assumes that the great orator Pulteney would have displayed if he had not been engrossed by politics.

“How sweet an Ovid, Murray, was our boast;  
How many Martials were in Pulteney lost.”

These were for the most part his political friends, but when he mentions Sir Robert Walpole, to whom his friends, more than himself, were virulently opposed, how respectful and tender is the reproach, how adroit and insinuating the praise —

“Seen him I have, but in his happier hour,  
Of social pleasure, ill exchang’d for power, —  
Seen him, uncumber’d with a venal tribe,  
Smile without art, and win without a bribe.”

I might adduce many other instances; I might quote at full length the noble epistle to Lord Oxford, but I will sum up this topic with that striking passage in which, while he enumerates the persons who encouraged and fostered his earlier productions, he presents us with a gallery of illustrious portraits, sometimes conveys by a single word an insight into their whole character, and concludes the distinguished catalogue with the name of that St. John whom he uniformly regarded with feelings little short of idolatry, and which, however misplaced and ill-grounded, have even in themselves something of the poetical attribute —

“But why then publish? Granville the polite,  
And knowing Walsh would tell me I could write;  
Well-natured Garth inflamed with early praise,  
And Congreve loved, and Swift endured, my lays.

(Observe how the gentle and amiable Congreve “loved,” and the *caustic and cynical* Swift “endured.”)

The courtly Talbot, Somers, Sheffield, read,  
E'en mitred Rochester would nod the head,

(said to have been the ordinary symptom of Bishop Atterbury being pleased; then comes the swelling climax,)

And St. John's self, great Dryden's friend before,  
With open arms receiv'd one Poet more.  
Happy the studies, when by these approv'd,  
Happier the author, when by these below'd."

I feel that I ought not entirely to omit all mention of the long satiric poem of the *Dunciad*, upon which Pope evidently bestowed much care and labour; but it is throughout disfigured by great ill-nature, and by a pervading run of unpleasant and unsavoury images. There is much spirit in the account of the young high-born Duncce, who makes, what is called, the Grand Tour —

"Europe he saw, and Europe saw him too;"

and tells how he

"Judicious drank, and, greatly daring, dined."

There is a luscious kind of burlesque softness in these lines,

"To happy convents, bosom'd deep in vines,  
Where slumber abbots, purple as their wines;  
To isles of fragrance, lily-silver'd vales,  
Diffusing languor in the panting gales;  
To lands of singing and of dancing slaves,  
Love-whisp'ring woods, and lute-resounding waves."

One of the most distinguishing excellencies of Pope is the vividness which he imparts to all the pictures he presents to the mind, and which he attains by always making use of the very most appropriate terms which the matter admits. This, in conjunction with his wonderful power of compression, which he has probably carried further than any one before or since, gives a terseness and completeness to all he says, in which he is unrivalled. As instances of this perfect picture painting, I would refer you, as I must not indefinitely indulge in long citations, to the descriptions, all in the same Epistle on Riches, of the Miser's House, the Man of Ross's charities, and of the death of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham:



“In the worst inn’s worst room, with mat half hung,  
 The floors of plaister, and the walls of dung,  
 On once a flock bed, but repaired with straw,  
 With tape-tied curtains, never meant to draw,  
 The George and Garter dangling from that bed  
 Where tawdry yellow strove with dirty red,  
 Great Villiers lies — alas! how changed from him,  
 That life of pleasure, and that soul of whim!”

If any should object that this is all very finished and elaborate, but it is very minute—only miniature painting after all, what do you say to this one couplet on the operations of the Deity?

“Builds life on death, on change duration founds,  
 And gives the eternal wheels to know their rounds.”

I would beg any of the detractors of Pope to furnish me with another couple of lines from any author whatever, which encloses so much sublimity of meaning within such compressed limits, and such precise terms.

I must cite another passage, in which he ventures on the same exalted theme, with somewhat more enlargement; it would be impossible, however, for you to hear it, and bring against it any charge of diffuseness:

“All are but parts of one stupendous whole,  
 Whose body Nature is, and God the soul;  
 That, chang’d through all, and yet in all the same,  
 Great in the earth, as in the ethereal frame;  
 Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,  
 Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees,  
 Lives through all life, extends through all extent,  
 Spreads undivided, operates unspent.

(There is a couplet indeed.)

Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part,  
 As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart;  
 As full, as perfect, in vile man that mourns,  
 As the rapt seraph that adores and burns:  
 To Him no high, no low, no great, no small;  
 He fills, He bounds, connects, and equals all.”

*Let me invite your attention to the few following lines on the*

apportionment of separate instincts or qualities to different animals, and be good enough to observe how the single words clench the whole argument. They are as descriptive as the bars of Haydn's music in the oratorio of the Creation :—

“What modes of sight betwixt each wide extreme,  
The mole's dim curtain, and the lynx's beam ;  
Of smell, the headlong lioness between,  
And hound sagacious on the tainted green ;  
Of hearing, from the life that fills the flood,  
To that which warbles through the vernal wood ;  
The spider's touch, how exquisitely fine,  
Feels at each thread, and lives along the line.”

What a couplet again is that ! It is only about a spider ; but I guarantee its immortality.

If I set down the Terse, the Accurate, the Complete, the pungency of the Satiric point, the felicity of the well-turned Compliment, as the distinctive features of Pope's poetical excellence, it should not escape us that there are occasions when he reaches a high degree of moral energy and ardour. I have purposely excluded from our present consideration all scrutiny and dissection of Pope's real inner character. I am aware, that, taking it in the most favourable light, it can only be regarded as formed of mixed and imperfect elements ; but I cannot refuse to myself the belief that when the Poet speaks in such strains as the following, they in some degree reflect and embody the spirit of the Man. I quote from his animated description of the triumph of vice :—

“Let Greatness own her, and she's mean no more ;  
Her birth, her beauty, crowds and courts confess,  
Chaste matrons praise her, and grave bishops bless ;  
In golden chains the willing world she draws,  
And her's the Gospel is, and her's the laws ;  
Mounts the tribunal, lifts her scarlet head,  
And sees pale virtue carted in her stead.  
Lo ! at the wheels of her triumphal car,  
Old England's genius, rough with many a scar,  
Dragg'd in the dust ! his arms hang idly round,  
His flag inverted trails along the ground !”

And, again with *more special reference* to himself,

"Ask you what provocation I have had ?  
 The strong antipathy of good to bad.  
 When truth or virtue an affront endures,  
 Th' affront is mine, my friend, and should be yours.  
 Yes, I am proud, I must be proud to see,  
 Men not afraid of God, afraid of me :  
 Safe from the bar, the pulpit, and the throne,  
 Yet touch'd and sham'd by ridicule alone.  
 O sacred weapon ! left for truth's defence,  
 Sole dread of folly, vice, and insolence !  
 To all but heav'n-directed hands deny'd,  
 The muse may give thee, but the gods must guide :  
 Rev'rent I touch thee ! but with honest zeal ;  
 To rouse the watchmen of the public weal,  
 To virtue's work provoke the tardy Hall,  
 And goad the prelate slumbering in his stall.  
 Let envy howl, while heav'n's whole chorus sings,  
 And bark at honour not conferr'd by kings ;  
 Let flatt'ry sickening see the incense rise,  
 Sweet to the world, and grateful to the skies :  
 Truth guards the poet, sanctifies the line,  
 And makes immortal verse as mean as mine."

My limits, more than my materials, warn me that I must desist. As, however, with reference to the single object which I have all along had in view, I think it more politic that I should let the words of Pope, rather than my own, leave the last echoes on your ear, I should like to conclude this address with his own concluding lines to perhaps the most important and highly-wrought of his poems, the "Essay on Man." They appear to me calculated to leave an appropriate impression of that orderly and graceful muse, whose attractions I have, feebly I know and inadequately, but with the honesty and warmth of a thorough sincerity, endeavoured to place before you ; if I mistake not, you will trace in them, as in his works at large, the same perfect propriety of expression, the same refined simplicity of idea, the same chastened felicity of imagery, all animated and warmed by that feeling of devotion for Bolingbroke, which pervaded his poetry and his life :

"Come then, my friend ! my genius ! come along ;  
*Oh master of the poet, and the song !*

And while the muse now stoops, or now ascends,  
To man's low passions, or their glorious ends,  
Teach me, like thee, in various nature wise,  
To fall with dignity, with temper rise ;  
Form'd by thy converse, happily to steer  
From grave to gay, from lively to severe ;  
Correct with spirit, elegant with ease,  
Intent to reason, or polite to please.  
Oh ! while along the stream of time thy name  
Expanded flies, and gathers all its fame ;  
Say, shall my little bark attendant sail,  
Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale ?  
When statesmen, heroes, kings, in dust repose,  
Whose sons shall blush their fathers were thy foes,  
Shall then this verse to future age pretend,  
Thou wert my guide, philosopher, and friend, —  
That urg'd by thee, I turn'd the tuneful art  
From sounds to things, from fancy to the heart ;  
For wit's false mirror held up nature's light ;  
Show'd erring pride, whatever is, is right ;  
That reason, passion, answer oue great aim ;  
That true self-love and social are the same ;  
That virtue only makes our bliss below ;  
And all our knowledge is ourselves to know."

Gentlemen of the jury, that is my case.

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## LECTURE II.

## TRAVELS IN AMERICA.

It may be known to some of those whom I have the pleasure to see around me, that when circumstances to which I need not further allude, occasioned a breach, temporary indeed, and soon repaired, in my connection with the West Riding of Yorkshire, — when, as the phrase goes, some of your neighbours, and probably of yourselves, had given me leave to go upon my travels, — I thought I could make no better use of this involuntary leisure than by acquiring some personal knowledge of the United States of America. I accordingly embarked in the autumn of the year 1841, and spent about one whole year in North America, having within that period passed nearly over the length and breadth of the Republic, trod at least the soil of twenty-two out of the twenty-six States of which the Union was then composed, and paid short visits to the Queen's dominions in Canada, and to the Island of Cuba. I determined to keep a journal during my travels, and only at the end of them to decide what should become of it when it was completed. I found it was written in too hurried and desultory a manner, and was too much confined to my own daily proceedings, to make it of interest to the public at large. Still more strongly I felt that, after having been received with uniform civility and attention, nay, I may say, with real warmth and openness of heart, I should not wish, even where I had nothing but what was most favourable to communicate, immediately to exhibit myself as an inquisitive observer of the interior life to which I had been admitted; and this very feeling would probably have disqualified me for the office of an impartial critic. Now, however, that above eight years have elapsed since my return, in turning over the pages then written, it has seemed to me allowable to endeavour, for a purpose like the present, to convey a few of the leading impressions which I derived from the surface of nature and society as they exhibited themselves in the New World.

*It must follow necessarily from such limits as could be allowed*

to me on an occasion of this kind, that any account which I can put together from materials so vast and so crowded, must be the merest superficial skimming of the subject that can be conceived. All I can answer for is, that it shall be faithful to the feelings excited at the moment, and perfectly honest as far as it goes. I must premise one point with reference to what I have just now glanced at—the use of individual names. I came in contact with several of the public men, the historical men they will be, of the American Republic. I shall think myself at liberty occasionally to depart in their instance from the rule of strict abstinence which I have otherwise prescribed to myself, and to treat them as public property, so long as I say nothing to their disadvantage. On the other hand, the public men of the United States are not created faultless beings, any more than the public men of other countries; it must not, therefore, be considered when I mention with pleasure anything which redounds to their credit, that I am intending to present you with their full and complete portraits.

It was on the 21st day of October, upon a bright crisp morning, that the *Columbia* steam-packet, upon which I was a passenger, turned the lighthouse outside the harbour of Boston. The whole effect of the scene was cheerful and pleasing; the bay is studded with small islands, bare of trees, but generally crowned with some sparkling white building, frequently some public establishment. The town rises well from the water, and the shipping and the docks wore the look of prosperous commerce. As I stood by some American friends acquired during the voyage, and heard them point out the familiar villages, and villas, and institutions, with patriotic pleasure, I could not altogether repress some slight but not grudging envy of those who were to bring so long a voyage to an end in their own country, amidst their own family, within their own homes. I am not aware I ever again experienced, during my whole American sojourn, the peculiar feeling of the stranger. It was, indeed, dispelled at the moment, when their flag ship, the *Columbus*, gave our *Columbia* a distinguished, and, I thought, touching reception; the crew manned the yards, cheered, and then the band played, first, "God Save the Queen," and then "Yankee Doodle." I spent altogether, at two different intervals, about a month in Boston.

I look back with fond recollection to its well-built streets—the swelling dome of its *State-house*—the pleasant walks on what is

termed the Common — a park, in fact, of moderate size, in the centre of the city, where I made my first acquaintance with the bright winter sunsets of America, and the peculiar transparent green and opal tints which stripe the skies around them—the long wooden causeways across the inner harbour, which rather recalled St. Petersburg to my recollection—the newly-erected granite obelisk on a neighbouring height, which certainly had no affinity with St. Petersburg, as it was to mark the spot, sacred to an American, of the battle of Bunker's Hill—the old elm tree, at the suburban university of Cambridge, beneath which Washington drew his sword in order to take the command of the national army—the shaded walks and glades of Mount Auburn, the beautiful cemetery of Boston, to which none that we yet have can be compared, but which I trust before long our Chadwicks and Paxtons may enable us to imitate, and perhaps to excel. These are some of my external recollections of Boston; but there are some fonder still, of the most refined and animated social intercourse—of hospitalities which it seemed impossible to exhaust—of friendships which I trust can never be effaced. Boston appears to me, certainly, on the whole, the American town in which an Englishman of cultivated and literary tastes, or of philanthropic pursuits, would feel himself most at home. The residence here was rendered peculiarly agreeable to me by a friendship with one of its inhabitants, which I had previously made in England; he hardly yet comes within my rule of exception, but I do not give up the notion of his becoming one of the historical men of his country. However, it is quite open for me to mention some of those with whom, mainly through his introduction, I here became acquainted. There was Mr. Justice Story, whose reputation and authority as a commentator and expounder of law stand high wherever law is known or honoured, and who was, what at least is more generally attractive, one of the most generous and single-hearted of men. He was an enthusiastic admirer of this country, especially of its lawyers; how he would kindle up and flow on if he touched upon Lord Hardwick or Lord Mansfield — “Sir,” as an American always begins, “on the prairies of Illinois, this day Lord Mansfield administers the law of commerce.” He had also a very exalted opinion of the judgments of Lord Stowell, which his own studies and practice had lead him thoroughly to appreciate; and I may permit myself to say that he *had formed a high estimate* of the judicial powers of Lord Cottenham.

I must admit one thing—when he was in the room few others could get in a word ; but it was impossible to resent this, for he talked evidently not to bear down others, but because he could not help it. Then there was Dr. Channing. I could not hear him preach, as his physical powers were nearly exhausted ; but on one or two occasions I was admitted to his house. You found a fragile frame, and a dry manner, but you soon felt that you were in a presence in which nothing that was impure, base, or selfish, could breathe at ease. There was the painter, Alston, a man of real genius, who suffices to prove that the domain of the fine arts, though certainly not hitherto the most congenial to the American soil, may be successfully brought, to use their current phrase, into annexation with it. These, alas ! have, since my visit, all been taken away. In the more immediate department of letters there are happily several who yet remain—Mr. Bancroft, the able and accomplished historian of his own country — Mr. Ticknor, who has displayed the resources of a well-stored and accomplished mind in his recent work on the literature of Spain — Mr. Longfellow, with whose feeling and graceful poetry many must be acquainted—Mr. Emerson, who has been heard and admired in this country—and I crown my list with Mr. Prescott, the historian of Ferdinand and Isabella, of Mexico, and of Peru, with respect to whom, during the visit he paid to England in the past summer, I had the satisfaction of witnessing how all that was most eminent in this country confirmed the high estimate I had myself formed of his head, and the higher one of his heart.

The public institutions of Boston are admirably conducted. The Public or Common Schools there, as I believe in New England generally, are supported by a general rate, to which all contribute, and all may profit by. I am not naturally now disposed to discuss the question, how far this system would bear being transplanted and engrafted on our polity ; but it would be uncandid if I did not state that the universality of the instruction, and the excellence of what fell under my own observation, presented to my mind some mortifying points of contrast with what we have hitherto effected at home. It is well known that a large proportion of the more wealthy and cultivated part of the society of Boston belong to the Unitarian persuasion ; but a considerable number of the middle classes, and especially of the rural population of New England, comprising the *six Northern States* of the Union, still retain much



of the Puritan tenets and habits of their immediate ancestors,—their Pilgrim Fathers.

Before I leave Boston, let me add one observation on a lighter topic. I lodged at the Tremont Hotel, which was admirably conducted, like very many of those imposing establishments in the chief cities of the Union. Here I learnt that one is apt to receive false impressions at first; I was struck with the clean, orderly, agile appearance of the waiters. "The Americans beat us hollow in waiters," was my inner thought; on inquiring I found that of the twenty-five waiters in the house, four were English and twenty-one Irish. I could not help wishing that a large number of the Irish might come and be waiters for a little while.

Within three or four days of my landing I grew impatient to see the falls of Niagara, without loss of time; if any sudden event should have summoned me home, I felt how much I should have grudged crossing the Atlantic without having been at Niagara; and I also wished to look upon the autumn tints of the American forests, before the leaves, already beginning to fall, had entirely disappeared. The Western Railway, which appeared to me the best constructed that I saw in America, took me to Albany, a distance of 200 miles. The railway carriages, always there called cars, consist of long rooms, rather like a dining-room of a steam-packet, with a stove inside, often a most desirable addition in the American winter; and you can change your seat or walk about as you choose. They are generally rougher than our railways, and the whole getting-up of the line is of a ruder and cheaper character; they do not impede the view as much as with us, as they make no scruple of dashing across or alongside of the main street in the towns or villages through which they pass. But I ought to remark about this as about every thing else, that the work of progress and transformation goes on with such enormous rapidity, that the interval of eight years since my visit will probably have made a large portion of my remarks thoroughly obsolete.

The New England country through which we passed looks cheerful, interspersed with frequent villages and numerous churches, bearing the mark at the same time of the long winter and barren soil with which the stout Puritan blood of Britain has so successfully contended; indeed, the only staple productions of a district *which supplies seamen for all the Union, and ships over all the world, are said to be ice and granite.*

Albany is the capital of the state of New York, — the Empire State, as its inhabitants love to call it, and it is a name which it deserves, as fairly as our own old Yorkshire would deserve to be called the Empire County of England. It is rather an imposing town, rising straight above the Hudson river, gay with some gilded domes, and many white marble columns, only they are too frequently appended to houses of very staring red brick. From Albany to Utica, the railroad follows the stream of the Mohawk, which recalls the name of the early Indian dwellers in that bright valley, still retaining its swelling outline of wood-covered hills, but gay with prosperous villages and busy cultivation. I was perhaps still more struck the next evening, though it was a more level country, where the railway passes in the midst of the uncleared or clearing forest, and suddenly bursts out of a pine glade or cedar swamp into the heart of some town, probably four, three, or two years old, with tall white houses, well-lighted shops, billiard-rooms, &c. ; and emerging, as we did, from the dark shadows into the full moonlight, the wooden spires, domes, and porticoes of the infant cities looked every bit as if they had been hewn out of the marble quarries of Carrara. I am aware that it is not the received opinion ; but there is something both in the outward aspect of this region and the general state of society accompanying it, which to me seemed eminently poetical. What can be more striking or stirring, despite the occasional rudeness of the forms, than all this enterprise, energy, and life welling up in the desert ? At the towns of Syracuse, of Auburn, and of Rochester, I experienced the sort of feeling which takes away one's breath ; the process seemed actually going on before one's eyes, and one hardly knows whether to think it as grand as the Iliad, or as quaint as a harlequin farce. I will quote the words I wrote down at the time : —

"The moment is not come for me yet, if it ever should come, to make me feel myself warranted in forming speculations upon far results, upon guarantees for future endurance and stability ; all that I can now do is to look and to marvel at what is before my eyes. I do not think I am deficient in relish for antiquity and association : I know that I am English, not in a pig-headed adhesion to everything there, but in heart to its last throb. Yet I cannot be unmoved or callous to the soarings of Young America, in such legitimate and laudable directions too ; and I feel that it is already not the least *bright*, and may be the most enduring, title of

my country to the homage of mankind, that she has produced such a people. May God employ them both for his own high glory!"

I am bound here in candour to state that I think what I first saw in America was, with little exception, the best of its kind; such was the society of Boston — such was the energy of progress in the western portion of the State of New York.

At Rochester, an odd coincidence occurred to me, striking enough I think to be mentioned, though it only concerned myself. After the arrival of the railway carriage, and the usual copious meal of tea and meat that ensues, I had been walking about the town, which dates only from 1812, and then contained 20,000 inhabitants, and as I was returning to the hotel, I saw the word Theatre written up. Wishing to see everything in a new country, I climbed up some steep stairs into what was little better than a garret, where I found a rude theatre, and ruder audience, consisting chiefly of boys, who took delight in pelting one another. There was something, however, at which I had a right to feel surprised. In a playhouse of strollers, at a town nearly five hundred miles in the interior of America, which, thirty years before, had no existence, thus coming in by the merest chance, I saw upon the drop-scene the most accurate representation of my own house, Naworth Castle, in Cumberland.

A great improvement has recently occurred in the nomenclature of this district; formerly a too classical surveyor of the State of New York had christened — I used the wrong term, had heathenised, to make a new one, — all the young towns and villages by the singularly inapplicable titles of Utica, Ithaca, Palmyra, Rome: they are now reverting to the far more appropriate, and, I should say, more harmonious Indian names, indigenous to the soil, such as Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga.

I thought my arrival at Niagara very interesting. We had come to Lockport, where there is a chain of magnificent locks, on the Erie Canal, one of the great public works of America, and which has done much to enrich this Empire State of New York. The surplus of the receipts has enabled it to execute a variety of other public works. We arrived too late for the usual public conveyance. The proprietor of the stage-coach agreed to give me, with one or two other Englishmen, a lumber waggon to convey us to the falls. The Colonel, for he was one, as I found the drivers

of the coaches often were, drove his team of four horses himself. I generally found the stage-coach driving in the United States indescribably rough, but the drivers very adroit in their steerage, and always calling their horses by their names, and addressing them as reasonable beings, to which they seemed quite to respond. Altogether, the strangeness of the vehicle, the cloudless beauty of the night, the moonlight streaming through the forest glades, the meeting a party of the Tuscarora Indians, who still have a settlement here, the first hearing the noise of Niagara about seven miles off, and the growing excitement of the nearer approach, gave to the whole drive a most stirring and enjoyable character. When I arrived at the hotel, the Cataract House, I would not anticipate by any moonlight glimpses the full disclosures of the coming day, but reserved my first visit for the clear light and freshened feelings of the morning.

I staid five days at Niagara on that occasion; I visited it again twice, having travelled several thousands of miles in each interval. I have thus looked upon it in the late autumn, in the early spring, and in the full summer. Mrs. Butler, in her charming work on America, when she comes to Niagara, says only, "Who can describe that sight?" and, with these words, finishes her book. There is not merely the difficulty of finding adequate words, but there is a simplicity and absence, as I should say, of incidents in the scenery, or, at least, so entire a subordination of them to the main great spectacle, that attempts at description would seem inapplicable as well as impotent. Nevertheless, I have undertaken, however inadequately, the attempt to place before you the impressions which I actually derived from the most prominent objects that I saw in America. How, then, can I wholly omit Niagara? The first view neither in the least disappointed, or surprised, but it wholly satisfied me. I felt it to be complete, and that nothing could go beyond it: volume, majesty, might, are the first ideas which it conveys: on nearer and more familiar inspection, I appreciated other attributes and beauties—the emerald crest—the seas of spray—the rainbow wreaths. Pictures and panoramas had given me a correct apprehension of the form and outline; but they fail, for the same reason as language would, to impart an idea of the whole effect, which is not picturesque, though it is sublime; there is also the technical drawback in painting of

the continuous mass of white, and the line of the summit of Fall is as smooth and even as a common mill-dam. Do imagine, however, that the effect could be improved by being more picturesque; just as there are several trivial and unsightly buildings on the banks, but Niagara can be no more spoiled than it can be improved. You would, when on the spot, no more think of complaining that Niagara was not picturesque, than you would mark in the shock and clang of battle that a trumpet sounded of tune. Living at Niagara was not like ordinary life; its ever loud but constant solemn roar has in itself a mysterious sound: is not the highest voice to which the Universe can listen compared by inspiration to the sound of many waters? The whole of existence there has a dreamy but not a frivolous impression; you feel that you are not in the common world, but in its sublime temple.

I naturally left such a place and such a life with keen regret, but I was already the last visitor of the year, and the hotels were about to close. I was told that I had already been too late for the best tints of autumn (or fall, as the Americans picturesquely call that season), and that they were at no time so vivid that year as was usual; I saw, however, great richness and variety of hue. I think the bright soft yellow of the sugar maple, and the dun of the black oak, were the most remarkable. These and the best of the white cedar, the hemlock spruce, the hickory, with occasionally the chesnut and walnut, seemed the prevailing trees in all this district. I can well imagine a person being disappointed in the American Forest; trees, such as those at Wentworth and Ca Howard (may I say?) seem the exception, and not the rule. The mass of them run entirely to height, and are too thick together, and there is a great deal too much dead fir; still there is a general charm and freshness in the American forest, derived partly perhaps from association, when you look through the thick tracery of its virgin glades.

On my going back I paid two visits at country houses; one to an old gentleman, Mr. Wadsworth, most distinguished in appearance, manner, and understanding, who had settled where I found him, fifty years before, when he had not a white neighbour within thirty miles, or a flour mill within fifty; he lived entirely surrounded by Indians, who have now disappeared. On some occasion, there had been a review of a corps of militia. A nei-

bouring Indian Chief had been present, and was observed to be very dejected; Mr. Wadsworth went up to him, and offered refreshment, which was usually very acceptable, but he declined it. Upon being pressed to say what was the matter, he answered with a deep sigh, pointing to the east, "You are the rising sun"—then to the west, "We are the setting." The face of the country is now, indeed, changed; a small flourishing town, the capital of the county, stretches from the gate; and the house overlooks one of the richest and best cultivated tracts in America, the valley of the Genessee. I fancy that quotations of the price of Genessee wheat are familiar to the frequenters of our corn markets. My host was one of the comparatively few persons in the United States who have tenants under them holding farms; among them I found three Yorkshiremen from my own neighbourhood, one of whom showed me what he called the *gainest* way to the house, which I recognised as a genuine Yorkshire term; he told me that his landlord was the first nobleman in the country, which is also clearly not an Americanism. While on this topic I may mention that, on another occasion, I was taken to drink tea at a farmer's house in New England. We had been regaled most hospitably, when the farmer took the friend who had brought me aside, and asked what part of England Lord Morpeth came from? "From Yorkshire, I believe," said my friend. "Well, I should not have thought that from his manner of talking," was the reply.

My other visit was to Mr. Van Buren, who had been the last President of the United States, and who, I suspect, shrewdly reckoned on being the next. It seemed, indeed, at that time to be the general expectation among his own, the Democratic, or, as they were then commonly called, the Loco-foco party. He was at that time living on his farm of Kinderhook; the house was modest and extremely well ordered, and nothing could exceed the courtesy or fullness of his conversation. He abounded in anecdotes of all the public men of his country. In his dining-room were pictures of Jefferson and General Jackson, the great objects of his political devotion. On my return through Albany, I had an interview with Mr. Seward, then for the second time Governor of the State of New York. I find that I noted at the time, that he was the first person I had met who did not speak slightly of the Abolitionists; he thought they were gradually gaining ground. He had already acted a spirited part on points connected with slavery, especially

in a contest with the legislature of Virginia concerning the delivery of fugitive slaves.

I approached the city of New York by the Hudson. The whole course of that river from Albany, as seen from the decks of the countless steamers that ply along it, is singularly beautiful, especially where it forces a passage through the barriers of the Highlands, which, however, afford no features of rugged grandeur like our friends in Scotland; but though the forms are steep and well-defined, their rich green outlines of waving wood, inclosing, in smooth many-curved reaches, the sail-covered bosom of the stately river, present nothing but soft and smiling images. I then took up my winter quarters at New York. I thought this, the commercial and fashionable, though not the political, capital of the Union, a very brilliant city. To give the best idea of it, I should describe it as something of a fusion between Liverpool and Paris — crowded quays, long perspectives of vessels and masts, bustling streets, gay shops, tall white houses, and a clear brilliant sky overhead. There is an absence of solidity in the general appearance, but in some of the new buildings they are successfully availing themselves of their ample resources in white marble and granite. At the point of the Battery, where the long thoroughfare of Broadway, extending some miles, pushes its green fringe into the wide harbour, with its glancing waters and graceful shipping, and the limber, long raking masts, which look so different from our own, and the soft swelling outline of the receding shores, New York has a special character and beauty of its own. I spent about a month here very pleasantly; the society appeared to me on the whole to have a less solid and really refined character than that of Boston, but there is more of animation, gaiety, and sparkle in the daily life. In point of hospitality, neither could outdo the other.

Keeping to my rule of only mentioning names which already belong to fame, I may thus distinguish the late Chancellor Kent, whose commentaries are well known to professional readers: he had been obliged, by what I think the very unwise law of the State of New York, to retire from his high legal office at the premature age of sixty, and there I found him at seventy-eight, full of animation and racy vigour, which, combined with great simplicity, made his conversation most agreeable.—Washington Irving, a well-known name both to American and English ears, whose nature appears as *gentle and genial as his works*—I cannot well give higher praise:

Bryant, in high repute as a poet, and others. I had the pleasure of making acquaintance with many of the families of who had been the foremost men in their country, Hamiltons, Livingstones. I lodged at the Astor House, a large hotel erected upon a splendid scale; and I cannot refrain from one, I think, heretofore, allusion to the oyster cellars of New York; in fact, of the world have I ever seen places of refreshment as convenient—every one seems to eat oysters all day long. What is more, the public institutions and schools are extremely well conducted. The churches of the different denominations are very numerous and well filled. It is my wish to touch lightly upon any point which among us, among even some of us here, may be matter of controversy; I, however, honestly confess that the experience of the United States does not as yet enable them to decide on either side the argument between the established and Voluntary systems in religion: take the towns by towns, and I think the voluntary principle appears fully adequate to satisfy all religious exigencies; then it must be remembered that the class which makes the main difficulty elsewhere, is not at all absent in America; it is the blessed privilege of the United States, and it is one which goes very far to counterbalance the drawbacks at which I may have to hint, that they really do not, as a class, any poor among them. A real beggar is what we never see. On the other hand, over their immense tracts of country, the voluntary system has not sufficed to produce sufficient religious accommodation; it may, however, be truly questioned, whether any establishment would be equal to that function. This is ever, one among the many questions which the republican character of America has not yet solved. As matters stand at present, indifference to religion cannot be fairly laid to her charge; religious extremes are pushed farther than elsewhere; certainly there is a breadth and universality of religious liberty [which] we do not regard without some degree of envy.

In my progress southward, I made a comparatively short visit to Philadelphia. This fair city has not the animation of New York, but it is eminently well built, neat, and clean beyond parallel.

The streets are all at right angles with each other, and the names of the different trees of the country; the houses are of red brick, and mostly have white marble steps and silver railings, all looking bright and shining under the effect of copious



and perpetual washing. It still looks like a town constructed by Quakers, who were its original founders; but by Quakers who had become rather dandified. The waterworks established here are deservedly celebrated; each house can have as much water as it likes, within and without, at every moment, for about 18s. a year. I hope our towns will be emulous of this great advantage. I think it right to say that in our general arrangements for health and cleanliness we appear to me very much to excel the Americans, and our people look infinitely healthier, stouter, rosier, jollier; the greater proportion of Americans with whom you converse would be apt to tell you they were dyspeptic, whether principally from the dry quality of their atmosphere, the comparatively little exercise which they take, or the rapidity with which they accomplish their meals, I will not take upon myself to pronounce. There is one point of advantage which they turn to account, especially in all their new towns, which is, that their immense command of space enables them to isolate almost every house, and thus secure an ambient atmosphere for ventilation. In my first walk through Philadelphia I passed the glittering white marble portico of the United States Bank, which, after the recent crash it had sustained, made me think of whited sepulchres. Near it was a pile, with a respectable old English appearance, of far nobler association; this was the State House, where the Declaration of American Independence was signed, — one of the most pregnant acts of which history bears record. It contains a picture of William Penn and a statue of Washington. While I was there, a sailor from the State of Maine, with a very frank and jaunty air, burst into the room, and in a glow of ardent patriotism inquired, "Is this the room in which the Declaration of Independence was signed?" When he found that I was an Englishman, he seemed, with real good breeding, to be afraid that he had grated on my feelings, and told me that in the year 1814 our flag had waved over the two greatest capitals of the world, Washington and Paris. I looked with much interest at the great Model Prison of the separate system. I was favourably impressed with all that met the eye, but I refrain from entering upon the vexed question of comparison between this and the silent and other systems, as I feel how much the solution must depend upon ever recurring experience. The poor-house, like that at New York, is built and administered on a very costly scale, and also has a great proportion

of foreigners as inmates, and of the foreigners a great proportion Irish. This seems to enhance the munificence of the provision for destitution; at the same time, it is not to be forgotten that the foreign labour is an article of nearly essential necessity to the progress of the country. On the only Sunday which I sent in Philadelphia, I went to a church which was not wanting in associations; the communion plate had been given by Queen Anne, and I sat in the pew of General Washington. I was told by some one that his distinguished cotemporary, Chief Justice Marshall, said of him, that, in contradiction to what was often thought, he was a man of decided genius, but he was such a personification of wisdom, that he never put anything forward which the occasion did not absolutely require. It seemed to me that there was at Philadelphia a greater separation and exclusiveness in society, more resemblance to what would be called a fashionable class in European cities, than I had found in America elsewhere.

My next brief pause was at Baltimore. At a halt on the railroad on the way thither, I heard a conductor or guard say to a negro, "I cannot let you go, for you are a SLAVE." This was my first intimation that I had crossed the border which divides Freedom from Slavery. I quote from the entry which I made upon noting these words that evening:—"Declaration of Independence which I read yesterday—pillar of Washington which I have looked on to-day—what are ye?"

I must now give myself some little vent. It was a subject which I felt during my whole sojourn in America, as I feel it still, to be paramount in interest to every other. It was one on which I intended and endeavoured to observe a sound discretion; we have not ourselves long enough washed off the stain to give us the right to rail at those whom we had originally inoculated with the pest; and a stranger abundantly experiencing hospitality could not with any propriety interfere wantonly upon the most delicate and difficult point of another nation's policy. I could not, however, fail often and deeply to feel, in the progress of my intercourse with many in that country—"Come not, my soul, into their secret; to their counsel, my honour, be not thou united." At the same time, I wished never to make any compromise of my opinion. I made it a point to pay special respect to the leading Abolitionists—those who had laboured or suffered in the cause—when I came within reach of them; at Boston, I committed the more overt act

of attending the annual anti-slavery fair, by which I believe some thought I unduly committed myself. I was much struck in the distinguished and agreeable companies which I had the good fortune to frequent, with a few honourable exceptions, at the tone of disparagement, contempt, and anger, with which the Abolitionists were mentioned; just as any patrician company, in this country, would talk of a Socialist, or a Red Republican. I am, of course, now speaking of the free Northern States; in the South an Abolitionist could not be known to exist. My impression is, that in the interval since my visit, the dislike, the anger, has remained, and may, probably, have been heightened, but that the feeling of slight, of ignoring (to use a current phrase) their very existence, must have been sensibly checked. There were some who told me that they made it the business of their lives to superintend the passage of the runaway slaves through the free States; they reckoned, at that time, that about one thousand yearly escaped into Canada. I doubt whether the enactment and operation of the Fugitive Slave Bill will damp the ardour of their exertions. It may be easy to speak discreetly and plausibly about the paramount duty of not contravening the law; but how would you feel, my countrymen, if a fugitive was at your feet and the man-hunter at the door? I admit that the majesty of the law is on one side; but the long, deep misery of a whole human life is on the other. What you ought to feel is fervent gratitude to the Power which has averted from your shores and hearths this fearful trial, and, let me add, a heartfelt sympathy with those who are sustaining it.

At Baltimore I thought there was a more picturesque disposition of ground than in any other city of the Union: it is built on swelling eminences, commanding views of the widening Chesapeake, a noble arm of the sea. There are an unusual number of public monuments for an American town, and hence it has been christened the Monumental City. I found the same hospitality which had greeted me everywhere, and the good living seemed to me carried to its greatest height; they have in perfection the terrapin, a kind of land tortoise, and the canvass-back duck, a most unrivalled bird in any country. With reference to the topic I have lately touched upon, a Slave-holders' Convention was being held at the time of my visit for the State of Maryland. They had been led to adopt this step by their apprehensions both of the *increase of the free coloured population*, and what they termed their

demoralising action on the slaves. The language, as reported, did not seem to have been very violent, but they very nearly subjected to lynch-law a man whom they suspected to be a reporter for an abolitionist newspaper. I dined with the daughter of Charles Carroll, who, when signing the Declaration of Independence, was told by a bystander that he would incur no danger, as there were so many of the same name — “of Carrollton,” he added to his name, and I think it is the only one upon the document which has any appendage. Being thus nobly fathered, it is rather curious that this venerable lady should have been the mother of three English peeresses. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore was one of the company; the assumption of that title does not appear in any degree to discompose the serenity of the Great Republic.

From Baltimore I transferred myself to Washington, the seat of government and capital of the American Union. I never saw so strange a place; it affords the strongest contrast to the regularity, compactness, neatness, and animation of the Atlantic cities I had hitherto visited. It is spread over a very large space, in this way justifying the expression of some one who wished to pay it a compliment, but did not know very well what attribute to select, so he termed it a “city of magnificent distances,” over which it extends, or rather sprawls; it looks as if it had rained houses at random, or like half a dozen indifferent villages scattered over a goose common. Here and there, as if to heighten the contrast with the meanness of the rest, there are some very handsome public buildings; and the American Capitol, the meeting-place of the legislature and the seat of empire, though not exempt from architectural defects, towers proudly on a steep ascent, commanding the subject town and the course of the broad Potomac, which makes the only redeeming feature of the natural landscape. In short, while almost every other place which I saw in America gives the impression of life and progress, Washington not only appears stagnant, but retrograde. No busy commerce circulates in its streets; no brilliant shops diversify its mean ranges of ill-built houses; but very few equipages move along its wide, splashy, dreary avenues. I saw it, too, in the prime of its season, during the sitting of Congress. When it is not sitting, the members of the legislature and officers of the government dispose themselves over the breadth of the Union, and leave the capital to the clerks of the public offices, and

— does it not seem profanation to say it? — the *Slaves*, who are still permitted to inhabit what should rightly be the Metropolis of Freedom. It is at least gratifying to know that, in the last session of Congress, the slave-trade has been abolished in the district of Columbia, the small portion of territory immediately annexed to Washington. When they are here, the members of Congress are mostly packed together in large and very inferior boarding-houses, a great portion of them not bringing their wives and families over the immense distances they have to traverse; hence it also happens that Washington will appear to the stranger not merely one of the least thriving but also the least hospitable of American cities. I spent nearly a month there, and it was the only place in which I (what is termed) kept house, that is, I resided in private lodgings, and found my own food, a method of life, however, which, in the long run, has more comfort and independence than that of the huge hotels. It was a contrast, however, to the large armies of waiters to which I had grown accustomed, to have no one in the house but an old woman and a negro boy, the first of whom my English servant characterised as cross, and the second as stupid. I believe it was the policy of the founders of the Republic to place the seat of government where it would not be liable to be distracted by the turmoil of commerce, or over-awed by the violence of mobs; we have heard very lately of speculations to remove the seat of the French Government from Paris. Another cause which has probably contributed to check any designs for the external improvement and development of Washington, must have been the doubt how far in a nation which is extending its boundaries westward at so prodigious a rate, it will be desirable or possible long to retain as the seat of government a spot which will have become so little central.

What gave most interest to my stay at Washington naturally was the opportunity of attending the sittings of Congress. The interior of the Capitol is imposing, as well as the exterior; in the centre hall there were five large pictures, illustrating the prominent points of American history, which must be more agreeable to American than to British eyes. There is also a fine colossal statue of Washington, who is universally and not unduly called the father of his country. The chamber where the Senate meets is handsome and convenient. The general aspect of the assembly, which (as is well known) shares largely both in the legislative and executive powers

of the constitution, is grave and decorous. The House of Representatives, the more popular branch of the government, returned by universal suffrage, assemble in a chamber of very imposing appearance, arranged rather as a theatre, in shape like the arc of a bow, but it is the worst room for hearing I ever was in: we hear of complaints occasionally of our Houses of Parliament, old and new, but they are faultless in comparison. In parts of the House it is impossible to hear any body, in others it answers all the purposes of a whispering gallery, and I have heard members carry on a continuous dialogue while a debate was storming around them. Both in the Senate and the House every member has a most commodious arm-chair, a desk for his papers, and a spitting-box, to which he does not always confine himself. I came very often, and it was impossible to surpass the attention I received; some member's seat in the body of the House was always given to me, and I was at liberty to remain there during the whole of the debate, listen to what was going on, or write my letters, as I chose. The palpable distinction between them and our House of Commons I should say to be this, we are more noisy, and they are more disorderly. They do not cheer, they do not cough, but constantly several are speaking at a time, and they evince a contemptuous disregard for the decisions of their Speaker. They have no recognized leaders of the different parties, the members of Government not being allowed to have seats in either House of Congress, and the respective parties do not occupy distinct quarters in the Chamber, so that you may often hear a furious wrangle being carried on between two nearly contiguous members. While I was at Washington, the question of slavery, or at least of points connected with slavery, gave the chief colour and animation to the discussions in the House of Representatives. Old Mr. Adams, the ex-president of the United States, occupied, without doubt, the most prominent position; he presented a very striking appearance, standing up erect at the age of 73, having once filled the highest post attainable by an American citizen, with trembling hands and eager eyes, in defence of the right of petition,—the right to petition against the continuance of slavery in the district of Columbia—with a majority of the House usually deciding against him, and a portion of it lashed into noise and storm. I thought it was very near being, and to some extent it was, quite a sublime position, but it rather detracted from the grandeur of the effect at least, that his own excitement was so great as to pitch his voice almost into a screech,

and to make him more disorderly than all the rest. He put one in mind of a fine old game-cock, and occasionally showed great energy and power of sarcasm. I had certainly an opportunity of forming my opinion, as I sat through a speech of his that lasted three days; but then it is fair to mention that the actual sittings hardly last above three hours a day — about four dinner is ready, and they go away for the day, differing much herein from our practice; and on this occasion they frequently allowed Mr. Adams to sit down to rest. All the time I believe he was not himself for the discontinuance of slavery, even in the district of Columbia, but he contended that the constitution had accorded the free right of petition.\* One morning he presented a petition for the dissolution of the Union, which raised a great tempest. Mr. Marshall, of Kentucky, a fine and graceful speaker, moved a vote of censure upon him. Another member, whom I need not name, the ablest and fiercest champion whom I heard on the southern or slave-holder side, made a most savage onslaught on Mr. Adams; then up got that “old man eloquent,” and no one could have reproached him with not understanding how to speak even daggers. His brave but somewhat troublous spirit has passed from the scenes upon which he played so conspicuous a part, but he has left behind him some words of fire, the sparks of which are not yet extinct. Nothing came of all this stir; I used to meet Mr. Adams at dinner while it went on, very calm and undisturbed. After seeing and hearing what takes place in some of these sittings, one is tempted to think that the Union must break up next morning; but the flame appeared generally to smoulder almost as quickly as it ignited. The debates in the Senate, during the same period, were dignified, business-like, and not very lively; so it may be judged which House had most attraction for the passing traveller. I heard Mr. Clay in the Senate once, but every one told me that he was labouring under feebleness and exhaustion, so that I could only perceive the great charm in the tones of his voice. I think this most attractive quality was still more perceivable in private intercourse, and I certainly never met any public man, either in his country or in mine, always excepting Mr. Canning, who exercised such

\* I have lately met with a curious proof that this very eminent man was not exempt from the usual susceptibility of his countrymen on the subject of colour. In a letter to the accomplished American actor, Mr. Hackett, he says, that the moral of the tragedy of Othello is to show how improper it is to mix white blood black.

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evident fascination over the minds and affections of his friends and followers, as Henry Clay. I thought his society most attractive, easy, simple, and genial, with great natural dignity. If his countrymen made better men presidents, I should applaud their virtue in resisting the spell of his eloquence and attractions; when the actual list is considered, my respect for the discernment elicited by universal suffrage does not stand at a very high point. Another great man, Daniel Webster, I could not hear in either House of Congress, because he then filled, as he does now, the high office of Secretary of State; but it is quite enough to look on his jutting dark brow, and cavernous eyes, and massive forehead, to be assured that they are the abode of as much, if not more, intellectual power than any head you perhaps ever remarked. For many, if not for all reasons, I am well content that he should be again at the head of the American Cabinet, for I feel sure that while he is even intensely American, he has an enlightened love of peace, and a cordial sympathy with the fortunes and glories of the old, as well as the new, Anglo-Saxon stock. The late Mr. Calhoun, who impressed most of those who were thrown in his way with a high opinion of his ability, his honesty, and, I may add, his impracticability, I had not the good fortune to hear in public, or meet in private society. It is well known that his attachment to the maintenance of slavery went so far as to lead him to declare that real freedom could not be maintained without it. Among those who at that time contributed both to the credit and gaiety of the society of Washington, I cannot forbear adding the name of Mr. Legare, then the Attorney-general of the Union, now unhappily, like too many of those whom I have had occasion to mention, no longer living. He appeared to me the best scholar, and the most generally accomplished man, I met in all the Union. I may feel biassed in his favour, for I find among my entries, "Mr. Legare spoke to-night of Pope as he ought."

I have not mentioned what might be thought of a very prominent object at Washington — the President of the United States. He resides for his term of office at a substantial plain building, called the White House. Mr. Tyler filled the office when I was there, and appeared a simple, unaffected person. Washington is the head quarters of another branch of the Constitution, which works perhaps with less of friction and censure than any other — the Supreme Court of Judicature. *The large federal questions between State*



and State give great weight and interest to its proceedings. I heard an interesting cause between the States of Maryland and Pennsylvania; it was an action to try the constitutional validity of an Act of the State of Pennsylvania, which gave a trial by jury to the fugitive slave. How this subject pursued and pervaded every thing! It was argued with great ability on both sides; it was ultimately ruled against the power of the free states to pass such an act; and the recent Fugitive Slave Law may probably have arisen out of some such debateable questions of right; at all events, it has entirely swept away the intervention of a jury.

The last day of my abode at Washington was spent becomingly at Mount Vernon, the residence, and now the grave, of Washington. It is well placed on a wooded hill above the noble Potomac, here a mile and a half broad. The tomb is a sad affair for such a man; it has an inscription upon it denoting that it was erected by John Strutters, marble mason! It is placed under a glaring red building, something between a coach-house and a cage. The Senate once procured the consent of the family to have it removed to the Capitol, when a bricklayer, a labourer, and a cart arrived to take it off one morning, at which their indignation naturally rose. There are few things remarkable in the house, except the key of the Bastille sent by General Lafayette to General Washington, and a sword given to him by Frederick the Great, with this address, "From the Oldest General of the age to the Best." I was gratified to see a print from my picture of the Three Maries. I wonder if it ever excited the interest and the piety of Washington?

I made a rapid journey, by steamboat and railroad, through the States of Virginia and North Carolina; the country wore a universal impress of exhaustion, desertion, slavery. It appears to be one of the trials for the cupidity of man, that slavery, notwithstanding all its drawbacks, has a certain degree of adaptation, not, I trust, in the mercy of God, a necessary adaptation, to the culture of fertile soils in hot climates; but in sterile or exhausted soils, where the energy of man must be called out to overcome difficulties, it is evident that slavery has no elastic spring or restorative power.

Richmond, the capital of Virginia, has a certain resemblance in position to its namesake in Surrey. I saw the local legislature in session; it was very full of coarse-looking farmers from the western portion of the state: it struck me that the acute town lawyers must manage matters much as they choose. I never saw

a country so hopeless as all that I passed through in North Carolina—a flat, sandy waste of pines, with scarcely a habitation. I spent a fortnight at Charleston, the capital of her more energetic sister, South Carolina. This town and state may be looked upon as the head-quarters of the slave-holding interest; and repeatedly, when they have thought the policy of the North too encroaching, either upon questions relating to what they term their peculiar institutions, which is their euphonious description of slavery, or, when we should feel a juster sympathy with them, upon questions relating to the protection of the northern manufactures in opposition to a liberal commercial policy, they have not only held the very highest tone in favour of a dissolution of the Union, but have proceeded to overt acts of resistance. I am bound to say that I spent my time there very pleasantly; there was much gaiety, and unbounded hospitality. I have made no disguise of what my opinions upon slavery were, are, and ever must be; but it would be uncandid to deny that the planter in the Southern States has much more in his manner and mode of intercourse that resembles the English country gentleman than any other class of his countrymen; he is more easy, companionable, fond of country life, and out-of-door pursuits. I went with a remarkably agreeable party to spend a day at the rice plantation of one of their chief proprietors; he had the credit of being an excellent manager, and his negroes, young and old, seemed well taken care of and looked after; he repelled the idea—not of educating them—that is highly penal by the law of the State, but of letting them have any religious instruction. I was told by others that there was considerable improvement in this respect. Many whom I met entertained no doubt that slavery would subsist among them for ever; others were inclined to think that it would wear out. While I was willing not to shut my eyes to any of the more favourable external symptoms or mitigations of slavery, other indications could not come across my path without producing deep repugnance. On the very first night of my arrival, I heard the deep sound of a curfew bell: on inquiry I was told, that after it had sounded every night at about nine o'clock, no coloured person, slave or *free*—mark that—might be seen in the streets. One morning, accordingly, I saw a great crowd of coloured persons in the street, and I found they were waiting to see a large number of their colour, who had been taken up the night before on their return from a ball, escorted in their ball dresses from the

Gaol to the Court-house. Indeed, it was almost principally with relation to the free blacks that the anomalous and indefensible working of the system appeared there to develop itself. I was told that the slaves themselves looked down upon the free blacks, and called them rubbish. I must not omit to state that I saw one slave auction in the open street, arising from the insolvency of the previous owner: a crowd stood round the platform, on which sat the auctioneer, and beside him were placed in succession the lots of from one to five negroes. The families seemed to be all put up together, but I imagine they must often be separated; they comprised infants and all ages. As far as I could judge, they exhibited great indifference to their changing destiny. I heard the auctioneer tell one old man, whom I could have hardly distinguished from a white person, that he had been bought by a good master. One could not help shuddering at the future lot of those who were not the subjects of this congratulation.

I went into the Head Court of Justice at Charleston, and found seven persons present; five of them were judges, one was the lawyer addressing them, the other was the opposing counsel, who was walking up and down the room. I attended a meeting of the convention of the Episcopal Church of South Carolina; whether it may be for encouragement or warning to those who wish for the introduction or revival of such synods at home, I mention the point then under discussion; it was how far it was proper to show deference for the opinion of the Bishop.

In point of neatness, cleanliness, and order, the slave-holding States appeared to stand in about the same relation to the free, as Ireland does to England; every thing appears slovenly, ill-arranged, incomplete; windows do not shut, doors do not fasten; there is a superabundance of hands to do every thing, and little is thoroughly done. The country round Charleston for scores, and I believe hundreds of miles, is perfectly flat, and full of swamps, but there I had the first indications of the real genius of the south, in the white houses lined with verandahs, the broad-leaved deep green magnolias and wild orange trees in the gardens, the large yellow jessamine and palmeto in the hedges, and the pendant streamers of grey moss on the under-branches of the rich evergreen live oak, which supplies unrivalled timber for ship-building.

I left Charleston in a small American mail-packet, for the island of Cuba. I must not dwell on the voyage, which, from our being *much* becalmed, lasted twelve days, double its due; we were long

off the low flat coasts of Georgia and Florida, and I felt inclined to say with Goldsmith —

“And wild Altama echoed to our woe.”

On the 14th of March we passed under the impregnable rock of the Castle, called the Moro, and, answering the challenge from its terraced battlements, we found ourselves in the unrivalled harbour of the Havana. How enchanting, to the senses at least, were the three weeks I spent in Cuba! How my memory turns to its picturesque forms and balmy skies. During my whole stay, the thermometer scarcely varied from 76° to 78° in the shade. I am disposed to wonder that these regions are not more resorted to by our countrymen for enjoyment of life, and escape from death. Nothing was ever so unlike either Europe or America as the Havana; at least I had never been in Spain, the mother country, which I suppose it most resembles. The courts of the gleaming white houses have a Moorish look, the interiors are much covered with arabesques, and on the outside towards the street they have immense open spaces for windows, in which they generally find it superfluous to put any glass; the carriages are called *Volantès*, and look as if they had been intended to carry Don Quixote. Then how delicious it used to be, late in the evening, under a moonlight we can scarcely imagine, to sit in the square called the Place of Arms, where in a space flanked by some gleaming palm trees, and four small fountains, a gay crowd listened to excellent music from a Spanish military band. It is certainly the handsomest town I saw in the New World, and gives a great idea of the luxury and splendour of Spain in her palmy days. The billiard rooms and ice-saloons streamed with light; the great theatre is as large and brilliant as almost any in Europe. Again, how full of interest were some visits I paid in the interior, both to Spanish and American households. I cannot condense my impressions of the scenery better than by repeating some short stanzas which with such influences around me I could not help perpetrating. I hope that while they bear witness to the intoxicating effects of the landscape and the climate, they do not wholly leave out of view the attendant moral.

Ye tropic forests of unfading green,  
Where the palm tapers, and the orange glows,  
Where the light bamboo weaves her feathery screen,  
And her tall shade the matchless seycha throws:

Ye cloudless ethers of unchanging blue,  
 Save as its rich varieties give way,  
 To the clear sapphire of your midnight hue,  
 The burnished azure of your perfect day.

Yet tell me not my native skies are bleak,  
 That, flushed with liquid wealth, no cane-fields wave;  
 For Virtue pines, and Manhood dares not speak,  
 And Nature's glories brighten round the Slave.

Among the country houses I visited was the sugar estate of one of the chief Creole nobles of the island—(I do not know whether my hearers will be aware that the proper meaning of a Creole is a person of European descent born in America)—I was treated there with the most refined and courteous hospitality; and what a view it was from the terrace of golden cane-fields, and fringing woods, and azure sea! The treatment of the domestic slaves appeared kind and affectionate, and all the negro children on the estate repeated their catechism to the Priest, and were then brought in to dance and romp in the drawing-room. Generally there does not appear to be the same amount of repulsion between the white and coloured races as in the United States, and there is the pleasant spectacle of their being mixed together in the churches. Still the crying, conclusive fact remains, that the average negro population died off in ten years, and had to be recruited by continuous importations, which are so many breaches of the solemn treaties between Spain and us. On one coffee estate which I visited—and generally the coffee cultivation is far lighter than that of the sugar cane)—a still darker shade was thrown upon the system, as I was told from a most authentic source that there was great difficulty in preventing mothers from killing their offspring. General Valdez, who was Captain-general of the island during my visit, is thought to have exerted himself honestly in putting down the slave trade. I believe it has been as much encouraged as ever under some of his successors. The politics of Cuba are rather delicate ground to tread upon just now, and are likely to be continually shifting; it appeared to me that all the component parties held each other in check, like the people who are all prevented from killing each other in the farce of the Critic. The despotism and exclusiveness of the Mother country were complete; every one gave the same picture of the

corruption and demoralization which pervaded every department of administration and justice. The Creoles are prevented from rising against this system, from dread of the negroes rising against them, over and above the large Spanish force always kept on foot there ; the Americans, who have got possession of a large proportion of the estates, do not like to hazard any attempt at annexation, without at least adequate aid from other quarters, as they would have to deal with the Spanish army, some of the Creoles, and all the Negroes : and the Negroes, the most deeply wronged party of any, would bring down on themselves in case of any general rising amongst them, the Spaniards, Creoles, Americans within, and Americans without. May the providence of God reserve for these enchanting shores more worthy destinies than they have ever yet enjoyed !

I availed myself of the magnificent accommodation of one of our West India line-of-packet steamers, which deposited us at the mouth of the Mississippi. I repined at the course of the vessel, receding from the sun, and at first I thought everything looked dingy, after the skies and vegetation of the tropics. I missed especially the palm, the cocoa, and the seyba, but there was still the orange tree, and, what they have not in Cuba, the magnolia, a forest tree in full blossom : the sugar plantations of Louisiana seemed kept in very trim order : we passed the ground made memorable by the victory of General Jackson over the English, and soon drew up among the numerous tiers of masts and steam-boats that line the crescent outline of New Orleans.

The good I have to say of New Orleans must be chiefly confined to the St. Charles Hotel, which is the most splendid of its kind that I saw even in the United States. When it is at its full complement 560 dine there every day—350 of whom sleep in the house ; there are 160 servants, 7 French cooks ; all the waiters, whites — Irish, English, French, German, and American : the very intelligent Proprietor of the hotel told me he thought the Irish made the best ; he has them altogether every day at noon, when they go through a regular drill, and rehearse the service of a dinner. Nothing can be more distinct than the appearance of the American and French portions of the town ; the American is laid out in broad streets, high houses, and large stores ; the French in narrow streets, which suits a warm climate better perhaps, and a great proportion of one-storied houses, which they thought a better security against

hurricanes. I spent my time not unpleasantly, particularly two days at the plantation of an opulent proprietor, where the slaves seemed the subject of much thoughtful attention as far as their physical condition is concerned: the weather at this season,—the middle of April,—was delicious, but it is the last place in the world I should choose for a residence. For long periods the climate is most noxious to human life; it is the occasional haunt of the yellow fever, the river runs at a higher level than the town, and the putrid swamp is ever ready to ooze through the thin layer of rank soil above it; and, worse than any merely natural malaria, the dregs of the worst type of the French and American character, notwithstanding the more wholesome elements by which their influence is undoubtedly tempered, impart a moral taint to the social atmosphere.

Though in my journey henceforward I passed over immense spaces, and saw great varieties of scenes and men, yet as it became now more of a matter of real travelling, and did not show me so much of the inner social life, it will be a relief to you to hear, especially after the lengthened trespass I have already made on your attention, that I shall get over the remaining ground far more rapidly. I went from New Orleans to Louisville, on board the *Henry Clay* steamer, 1500 miles, which lasted six days; the first 1100 miles were on the Mississippi. It is impossible to be on the "Father of Waters," as I believe the name denotes, without some emotion; its breadth hardly appears so imposing as that of many far inferior streams; at New Orleans it must be under three-quarters of a mile, but its width rather paradoxically increases as you recede from its mouth; its colour is that of a murky, pulpy, yellowish mud, but still its full, deep, brimming volume pleases, chiefly, I suppose, from the knowledge that thus it rolls on for 5000 miles, and waters a valley capable of feeding the world; there is little break of outline, but the continuous parallel lines of forest are partially dotted, first by the sugar fields of Louisiana, then by the cotton enclosures of the states of Mississippi and Tennessee, then by the rich meadows of Kentucky. For the last 400 miles we left the sovereign river, and struck up the Ohio, christened by the French the "Beautiful River," and deserving the name, from the swelling wooded slopes which fringe its current; its soft native name of Ohio means "the gently flowing." Louisville is a flourishing town. Thence I dived into the interior of Kentucky, and paid a visit of

two or three days to Mr. Clay, at his country residence of Ashland. The qualities which rivet the Senate and captivate his adherents, seemed to me both heightened and softened by his frank, courteous, simple intercourse. He lives with his family in a modest house, among fields of deep red soil and the most luxuriant grass, growing under very thriving and varied timber, the oak, sycamore, locust tree, cedar, and that beautiful ornament of American woods, the sugar maple. He likes showing some English cattle. His countrymen seem to be in the habit of calling upon him without any kind of previous introduction. Slavery, generally mild in the pastoral state of Kentucky, was certainly seen here in its least repulsive guise; Mr. Clay's own negro servant, Charles, was much devoted to him; he took him with him on a tour into Canada, and when some abolitionists there wanted him to leave his master, "Not if you were to give me both your Provinces," was the reply.

My next halt was at the White Sulphur Springs in the western portion of Virginia. The season had not yet commenced, early in May, so I was in sole possession of the place. One of my southern friends had kindly placed a delightful little cottage at my disposal, and I enjoyed in the highest degree the unwonted repose in the solitude of virgin forests, and the recesses of the green Alleghenias. Here were my brief Farewell lines to the small temple-like cupola over the bright sulphur well from which I used to drink many times in the day:—

Hail dome! whose unassuming circle guards  
Virginia's flowing fountain: still may health  
Hover above thy crystal urn, and bring  
To cheeks unus'd their bloom! may Beauty still  
Sit on thy billowy swell of wooded hills,  
And deep ravines of verdure; may the axe,  
Improvement's necessary pioneer,  
Mid forest solitudes, still gently pierce,  
Not bare their leafy bowers! This votive lay,  
Like wreath of old on thy white columns hung,  
Albeit of scentless flowers from foreign soil,  
Scorn not, and bid the Pilgrim pass in peace.

I had, at this time, much travelling in the stage coaches, and I found it amusing to sit by the different coachmen, who were generally youths from the Eastern States, pushing their way in life, and



full of fresh and racy talk. One said to me, lamenting the amount of debt which the State through which we were travelling had incurred, "I suppose your State has no debt," — a compliment I could not quite appropriate. Another, who probably came from New York, where they do not like to use the word Master in speaking of their employers, but prefer an old Dutch name, Boss, said to me, "I suppose the Queen is your Boss now."

I again turned my face to the West, and passed Cincinnati, which, together with all that I saw of the State of Ohio, seemed to me the part of the Union where, if obliged to make the choice, I should like best to fix my abode. It has a great share of all the civilization and appliances of the old settled States of the East, with the richer soil, the softer climate, the fresher spring of life, which distinguish the West. It had besides to me the great attraction of being the first Free State which I reached on my return from the region of slavery; and the contrast in the appearance of prosperity and progress is just what a friend of freedom would always wish it to be. One of my visitors at Cincinnati told me he remembered when the town only contained a few log cabins; when I was there it had 50,000 inhabitants. I shall not easily forget an evening view from a neighbouring hill, over loamy corn-fields, wooded knolls, and even some vineyards, just where the Miami River discharges its gentle stream into the ample Ohio. I crossed the States of Indiana and Illinois, — looked for the first time on the wide level and waving grass of a prairie — stopped a short time at St. Louis, once a French station, now the flourishing capital of the State of Missouri. I passed the greatest confluence of rivers on the face of our globe, where the Mississippi and Missouri blend their giant currents: the whole river ought properly to have gone by the name of the Missouri, as it is by far the most considerable stream, its previous course before the junction exceeding the entire course of the Mississippi, both before and after it; it is the Missouri, too, which imparts its colour to the united stream, and for two or three miles you distinguish its ochre-coloured waters as they line the hitherto clear current of the Upper Mississippi. At Jacksonville, in Illinois, I was told a large colony of Yorkshiremen were settled; and I was the more easily induced to believe it, as it seemed to me about the most thriving and best cultivated neighbourhood I had seen. I embarked at *Chicago, on the great lakes*: but here I must desist from pursuing

my devious wanderings on those large inland seas, and on the opposite shore of Canada. Many thousands of miles have I steamed away over Lakes Michigan, Huron, Erie, Ontario, the Rideau Canal, the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers; some of these I traversed twice, and they supplied some of the most interesting and picturesque features of my long journeyings. I should have scrupled in any case to touch upon the politics of Canada, and, indeed, my pauses at any fixed spot were too short to qualify me for the attempt, even if it had been desirable. It is a magnificent region, especially its western portion,—happy in climate, soil, and scenery. I will, however, only attempt to dash off two slight sketches from my Canadian recollections.

Here is the first. I stood in a terraced garden on the summit of a high promontory, running with a steep angle into the basin made by the river St. Lawrence, of which it is no exaggeration to say that the water is as clear, bright, and, above all, green as any emerald; here, upon I believe the most imperial site in the world, stand the citadel and city of Quebec. The shipping was lying in great quantity close under the rocky steep, and was dotted for a considerable way along the shining river. In front was the island of Orleans, well-shaped and full-peopled; ridge upon ridge beyond, ending with Cape Tourment, descended on the river; the shore on either side gleamed with white villages, and the town below seemed to climb, or almost leap, up the straight precipice, broken with high convent-roofs and glittering tinned spires. The flag of England waved upon the highest bastion that crowned the rock; the band of the Queen's Guards was playing in the garden; the clearest blue of western skies was above my head; and, rising above the whole glowing scene, was the commemorative pillar to that General Wolfe, who on this spot transferred to us Englishmen, by his own victory and death, and with the loss of forty-five men, the mastery of a Continent.

The only other scene I will attempt to sketch shall be in the centre of Lake Huron, on one of its countless islands. I am justified in using that epithet, since, not long ago, our Government ordered a survey to be made of the islands; they counted 40,000, and then gave it up, and some of these were of no contemptible size, one of them being ninety miles long. I was one of a party which, at that time, went annually up the lake to attend an encampment of many *thousand* Indians, and make a distribution of

presents among them. About sunset, our flotilla of seven canoes manned well by Indian and French Canadian crews, drew up some of the rowers cheering the end of the day's work with snatches of a Canadian boat-song. We disembarked on some rocky islet which, as probably as not, had never felt the feet of man before. In a few moments the utter solitude had become a scene of bustle and business, carried on by the sudden population of some sixty souls; tents had been pitched in which we were sleeping; small trees had been cut for fuel; fires had been lighted round which the motley crews were preparing the evening meal; some were bathing in the transparent little bays, some standing on a jutting piece of cliff, fishing; and here and there an Indian in the water, motionless, watching with an intent gaze, a spear in his hand ready to dart on his prey beneath. A large oil-cloth had been spread for our party on a convenient ledge of rock; hot pea-soup, hot fish, the chase of the day, and large cold rounds of beef, showed that, though we were in the desert, we did not fare like anchorites; and the summer moon rose on the scattered fires, and the gay bivouac, and the snatches of song and chorus that from time to time woke the unaccustomed echoes of Lake Huron.

Entering the United States again, I made a rapid journey by Lakes Champlain and George, by Ticonderoga and Saratoga,—historic names; spent four very delightful days in most attractive society in a New England village, revived the beautiful impressions of the Hudson, and, taking leave of friends not soon to be forgotten, on the quay of New York, left the hospitable shore.

You will have perceived that in these desultory notes I have not attempted to pronounce any formal judgment upon the American people, or the great experiment they are conducting in the face of the world. The extreme diversity of habits, manners, opinions, feelings, race, and origin, in the several parts of the wide extent of country I traversed, would render the difficulty, great in any case, of such an undertaking, still more subtle and complicated. The striking contrasts in such a shifting and variegated aspect of society, make me feel that any such general and dashing summary could only be attempted after the fashion of a passage which I have always much admired in Gibbon, where, wishing to give a fair view of the poetical character of Claudian, he sums up separately his merits and defects, and leaves his reader to strike the just balance. In some such mode it might be stated, that

North America, viewed at first with respect to her natural surface, exhibits a series of scenery, various, rich, and, in some of its features, unparalleled; though she cannot, on the whole, equal Europe in her mountain elevations, how infinitely does she surpass her in rivers, estuaries, and lakes! This variegated surface of earth and water is seen under a sky warm, soft, and balmy in some — clear, blue, and brilliant in all its latitudes, with a transparency of atmosphere which Italy does not reach, with varieties of forest-growth and foliage unknown to Europe, and with a splendour of views in autumn before which painting must despair. With respect to the moral aspect, I naturally feel the difficulty of any succinct or comprehensive summary infinitely heightened. The feature which is the most obvious, and probably the most enviable, is the nearly entire absence, certainly of the appearance, and, in a great degree, of the reality of poverty; in no part of the world, I imagine, is there so much general ease and comfort among the great bulk of the people, and a gushing abundance struck me as the prominent characteristic of the land. It is not easy to describe how far this consideration goes to brighten the face of nature, and give room for its undisturbed enjoyment. Within a mere span of time, as compared with the general growth and progress of nations, the industry, at once steady and persevering, of the inhabitants, has cleared enormous tracts of forest, reared among their untrodden glades spacious and stately cities, opened new highways through the swamp and the desert, covered their unequalled rivers with fleets of steam-boats and craft of every form, given an extension to canals beyond all previous experience, and filled land and water with hardy miracles of successful enterprise. The traveller, wafted with marvellous ease by steam-boats and railways over prodigious spaces, cannot but indulge in what may appear a more superficial satisfaction at the accommodation he meets with in the hotels of the principal cities, which are regulated on a scale, and with a splendour and even cleanliness which he will find scarcely rivalled in the capitals of Europe. However absorbed in the pursuits of business, agriculture and trade, the citizens of these young republics may be, and though it would seem to be their obvious vocation in life to cultivate almost boundless wastes, and connect almost interminable distances, circles are nevertheless to be found among them which, in point of refined and agreeable intercourse, of literary taste, and general

accomplishment, it would be difficult for the same capitals of the elder world to surpass ; the Bench and Bar, as well as other professions, can boast both of the solid and brilliant qualities by which they are adorned ; and while much occurs in Congress that must be deemed rough and unseemly, the chords of high and generous feeling are frequently struck within its walls to accents of noble eloquence ; in the universal fluency of their public speaking, they undoubtedly surpass ourselves. In rural life, I doubt whether the world can produce more examples of quiet simplicity and prosperous content than would be found, I might say most prominently, in the embowered villages of New England, or the sunny valleys of Pennsylvania. I am sure that I am not wanting in respect for our own operative classes ; but neither can I conceal from myself that the appearance of the female factory population of Lowell presents some points of favourable contrast. Among the more opulent portion of society, an idle man without regular profession or fixed pursuit is the exception which excites observation and surprise. The purity of the female character stands deservedly high, and society has been deemed by some to be rendered less agreeable by the rigid devotion of the young married women to their households and nurseries. It is something to have travelled nearly over the whole extent of the Union without having encountered a single specimen either of servility or incivility of manner ; by the last I intend to denote intentional rudeness. Elections may seem the universal business, topic, and passion of life, but they are, at least with but few exceptions, carried on without any approach to tumult, rudeness, or disorder ; those which I happened to see were the most sedate, unimpassioned processes I can imagine. In the Free States, at least, the people at large bear an active, and, I believe, on the whole, a useful part in all the concerns of internal government and practical daily life ; men of all classes, and especially of the more wealthy and instructed, take a zealous share in almost every pursuit of usefulness and philanthropy ; they visit the hospitals and asylums ; they attend the daily instructions of the schools ; they give lectures at Lyceums and Institutes. I am glad to think that I may be treading in their foot-steps on this occasion. I have already mentioned with just praise, the universal diffusion and excellent quality of popular education, as established especially in the *States of New England*, the powerful Empire State of New York,

add, the prosperous and aspiring State of Ohio. With-  
 ing to weigh the preponderating recommendations or  
 s of the Voluntary System, I may fairly ask, what other  
 ies are so amply supplied with the facilities of public  
 or all their members? The towns, old and young, bristle  
 ches; they are almost always well filled; the Sabbath,  
 stern and Northern States at least, is scrupulously ob-  
 nd with the most unbounded freedom of conscience, and  
 omplete absence of polemical strife and bitterness, there  
 tly a close unity of feeling and practice in rendering  
 God.

it would appear difficult, and must certainly be ungra-  
 paint the reverse side of such a country and such a  
 severe observer would not be long at fault. With respect  
 enery itself, while he could not deny that within its vast  
 : contained at times both sublimity and beauty, he might  
 against it a charge of monotony, to which the immense  
 es of the same surfaces, whether of hill, valley, wood,  
 ver — the straight unbroken skirt of forest, the entire  
 f single trees, the square parallelograms of the cleared  
 e uniform line of zig-zag fences, the staring squareness of  
 wooden houses, all powerfully contribute. In regard to  
 ithout dwelling on such partial influences as the *malária*  
 isolates the stunted pine-barrens of North Carolina, and  
 every white native of South Carolina from their rice-  
 ing the entire summer, the hot damps which festoon the  
 the southern coast with a funereal drapery of grey moss,  
 r fever which decimates the Quays of New Orleans, and  
 sh agues which line the banks of the Mississippi, it would  
 ible to deny the violent alternations of temperature which  
 re general prevalence; and it is certain that much fewer  
 rms and ruddy complexions are to be seen than in our  
 even latitudes. Passing from the physical to the moral  
 e, amidst all the vaunted equality of the American free-  
 e seemed to be a more implicit deference to custom, a  
 sive submission to what is assumed to be the public  
 f the day or hour, than would be paralleled in many aris-  
 r even despotic communities. This quiet acquiescence  
 availing tone, this complete abnegation of individual sen-  
*naturally most perceptible* in the domain of politics; but

I thought that it also in no inconsiderable degree pervaded the social circle, biassed the decisions of the judicial bench, and even infected the solemn teachings of the pulpit. To this source may probably in some measure be traced the remarkable similarity in the manners, deportment, conversation, and tone of feeling, which has so generally struck travellers from abroad in American society. Who that has seen, can ever forget the slow and melancholy silence of the couples who walk arm-in-arm to the tables of the great hotels, or of the unsocial groups who gather round the greasy meals of the steam-boats, lap up the five minutes' meal, come like shadows, so depart? One of their able public men made an observation to me, which struck me as pungent, and perhaps true, that it was probably the country in which there was less misery and less happiness than in any other of the world. There are other points of manners on which I am not inclined to dilate, but to which it would at least require time to be reconciled: I may just intimate that their native plant of tobacco lies at the root of much that we might think objectionable. However necessary and laudable the general devotion to habits of industry and the practical business of life may be, and though there are families and circles in which no grace, no charm, no accomplishment, are wanting, yet it cannot be denied, that among the nation at large, the empire of dollars, cents, and material interests, holds a very preponderating sway, and that art and all its train of humanities exercise at present but an enfeebled and restricted influence. If we ascend from social to political life, and from manners to institutions, we should find that the endless cycles of electioneering preparations and contests, although they may be carried on for the most part without the riotous turbulence, or overt bribery, by which they are sometimes but too notoriously disgraced among ourselves, still leave no intermission for repose in the public mind; enter into all the relations of existence; subordinate to themselves every other question of internal and foreign policy; lead their public men—I will not say their best, but the average of them—to pander to the worst prejudices, the meanest tastes, the most malignant resentments of the people; at each change of administration incite the new rulers to carry the spirit of proscription into every department of the public service, from the Minister at a great foreign court, to the post-master of some half-barbarous out-post, — thus tending to render those whose functions ought to withdraw them

most completely from party influences the most unscrupulous means; and would make large masses welcome war and even peace in ruin, if it appeared that they could thus counteract antagonist tactics, humiliate the rival leader, or remotely influence the election of the next President. It is already painfully true that as far as the universal choice of the people was relied on for the highest office of the state the most commanding ability or the most signal merit, it may be pronounced to have been wanting. There may be less habitual and actual noise in Congress in our own Parliament, but the time of the House of Representatives, not without cost to the constituent body which pays for their services, is continuously taken up, when not engrossed by a session of some days' duration, with wrangles upon points of order and angry recriminations; the language used in debate has occasionally sounded the lowest depths of coarse and virulent acrimony, the floor of the Legislative Hall has actually been the scene of personal encounter. The manners of the barely civilized West, where it has been known that counsel challenge judges on the bench, and Members of the Legislature fire off rifles at the speaker as he sits in the chair, would appear to be gradually invading the very inner shrine of the Constitution. Having done violence to the strictness and purity of morals which distinguish the more settled portions of the continent, it cannot be considered that the reckless notions and habits of the vagrant pioneers of the West, evinced as these are by the practices of gambling, drinking and licentiousness, by an habitual disregard of the Sabbath, by more constant swearing than I ever heard any where else, will disfigure that great valley of the Mississippi, destined inevitably, at no distant day, to be the preponderating section of the Union. It is at this day impossible to go into any society composed of the older and more thoughtful men, some of whom themselves have borne an eminent part in the earlier struggles and service of the commonwealth, without hearing the anarchy of modern times, and the downward tendency of all things, despondingly insisted upon. At the period of my visit, besides the numerous instances of individual bankruptcy and insolvency, not, alas, peculiar to the New World, the doctrine of repudiation, officially promulgated by sovereign States, had given an alarming confirmation to what is perhaps a prevailing tendency among retired politicians. I have reserved for the last topic of



animadversion the crowning evil—the capital danger—the mortal plague-spot—Slavery. I have not disclaimed the original responsibility of my own country in introducing and riveting it upon her dependencies ; I do not disguise the portentous difficulties in the way of adequate remedy to the great and growing disease. But what I cannot shut my eyes on is, that while it lasts, it must still continue, in addition to the actual amount of suffering and wrong which it entails on the enslaved, to operate with terrible re-action on the dominant class, to blunt the moral sense, to sap domestic virtue, to degrade independent industry, to check the onward march of enterprise, to sow the seeds of suspicion, alarm, and vengeance in both internal and external intercourse, to distract the national councils, to threaten the permanence of the Union, and to leave a brand, a bye-word, and a jest, upon the name of Freedom.

Having thus endeavoured, without consciousness of any thing mis-stated or exaggerated, though of much that is wanting and incomplete, on either side, to sum up the good and the bad, I leave my hearers to draw their own conclusions from the whole ; there are large materials both for approval and attack, ample grounds both for hope and fear. Causes are occasionally at work which almost appear to portend a disruption of the Federal Union ; at the same time a strong sentiment of pride about it, arising partly from an honest patriotism, partly from a feeling of complacency in its very size and extent, may tend indefinitely to postpone any such pregnant result ; but whatever may be the solution of that question, whatever the issue of the future destinies assigned to the great American Republic, it is impossible to have contemplated her extent, her resources, the race that has mainly peopled her, the institutions she has derived or originated, the liberty which has been their life-blood, the industry which has been their offspring, and the free Gospel which has been published on her wide plains and wafted by her thousand streams, without nourishing the belief, and the hope, that it is reserved for her to do much, in the coming generations, for the good of man and the glory of God.

## ADDRESSES.

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### DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES AT HUDDERSFIELD COLLEGE.

(December, 1843.)

ES AND GENTLEMEN,

Though this is the first time that I have had the gratification attending any meeting in connection with the Huddersfield, yet you must give me leave to assure you that it has so, not from any want of friendly invitation on the part of its and supporters, or from the want of any good will or on my part. Hitherto, parliamentary and official duties, such material hindrances as the interposition of seas, whether the Channel, or, more recently, the Atlantic Ocean, have retarded my complying both with their friendly summons and my own strong inclination; but I have taken advantage of the opportunity of unengrossed leisure which I have enjoyed in the county of York, to attend the half-yearly examination at Huddersfield College. There is much in the design and institution of this establishment—there is much in my judgment at least—which entitles it to warm sympathy and active support. My own prepossessions—prejudices, if you like to call them—have been long powerfully associated with the ancient educational institutions, generally called the great public schools of this country; but I have been long convinced, that in many portions of the country, and, especially in districts like this, where a long course of arduous industry and enterprise has drawn together large masses of the people, and has elevated many of them, I do not say to any degree of luxury and opulence, but to honourable and dignified competence, it was most expedient that the means of useful general education should be brought near to their own doors, and that a system should be introduced in which *any of the polite and humanizing branches of study should*

be omitted, but, in addition to this, more of a practical character, as well as of a comprehensive range, should be given to the customary methods of instruction. I rejoice to perceive in the plan and the very fundamental constitution of this establishment, a full admission of the principle, — of the indispensable principle, in my view, — that all acquirements should be grounded on a religious basis; and I am equally impressed with the urgency, that in any new system aiming at general utility, placed not merely in such districts as that to which I have adverted, but subsisting in such times as those we live in, its benefits should not be fenced in by any exclusive barriers, or founded upon any denominational tests. I do not mean to depreciate the immense importance of our own conscientious convictions; but while I would never discountenance adherence to our own sense of right and duty, I would most strongly recommend the establishment of such institutions, ~~and~~ without wounding the susceptibilities of the individual consciences, will give the fullest participation of their common benefits ~~to all~~ who may be disposed to enjoy them; and, indeed, I feel no ~~sur-~~prise, from knowing those by whom this Institution was ~~mainly~~ founded, and upon looking round me, as at this day, upon many by whom it is still upheld and fostered, that I can trace in the constitution and character of this establishment no deviation from the great principles of religious freedom. Depend upon it, there is no more fitting and genial shelter under which all sound and useful studies, and ornamental accomplishments, can thrive and spread, protecting them alike from the chilling and nipping blight of indifference, and from the blasting breath of bigotry; and tempering habits of independence and self-relying thought with profound humility for that which is supreme, and with tenderness and reverence for the conscientious convictions of others.

I should now just wish, with your kind allowance, to address ~~one~~ or two words of sympathy and counsel to the younger portion of the audience, to those who are the peculiar subjects of the exhibition of this morning. I feel that I may spare all congratulation to the actual receivers of the prizes — to the victors in the lettered ring. The palm that has been assigned to them in the face of an interested and applauding auditory, must be quite sufficient reward in itself, and they will not want any words of mine to enhance it. *What I want all, whether successful or unsuccessful competitors to remember, is, that the acquisition of knowledge is its own chief*

It is to be valued mainly not for the light in which it  
us before others, or the position in which it places us in  
but for what it makes us in ourselves—susceptible of what  
ful, pursuers of what is useful, practisers of what is right  
of ourselves, and beyond and above the reach of circum-

In this attempt to enumerate the proper and best results  
an be derived from the acquisition of knowledge, I intend  
le all its branches—from the highest and most indispensable,  
are considered the more practical and common-place, or  
e subsidiary and ornamental. None of them, in their  
spheres and degrees, ought to be overlooked or slighted.  
allude to high and spiritual matters as the most indis-  
s, I hope I sufficiently indicate my own meaning. Take  
e higher truths, and the most practical pursuits are but  
n vain," and the most graceful acquirements are but fading  
hung round empty bowers. But in just subordination to  
am very glad to observe that considerable attention is be-  
upon what are called classical studies, the knowledge of the  
nd Latin languages, and others. Perhaps you will think  
his observation I am betraying some of the prepossessions  
dices connected with my own early education, to which I  
diverted; but I am most deeply persuaded, that a know-  
nd acquaintance with the immortal works contained in  
anguages,—not, however, I admit, to be too exclusively, or  
ingly, or universally insisted upon,—tend more, perhaps,  
r thing else, to train the judgment in composition and  
, to refine and educate the general taste, and to give at-  
our and grace to literature and to thought; not to mention  
r failing sources of refreshment and delight which they  
their individual votaries. If I do not refer so pointedly to  
y be considered the more useful and practical branches of  
hether you include the knowledge of modern languages,  
ery of all resources of arithmetic, and the rudiments of the  
ciences, it is not from underrating their great and promi-  
ortance, but because their advantages, though immense;  
more obvious character. They come home almost to all  
its and occupations, and cross us in almost every path of  
all, then, my young friends, if you will allow me to turn  
o you;—when the motives for diligent application are so  
ed important, when the returns to it are so sure and so

promising,—for though we hear very often of bad bargains and ruinous speculations, yet I feel sure, however long your life may be, you will hardly, in the course of it, ever meet with a man who will tell you that he regrets the time which he has spent in the acquisition of knowledge, or repents of having become a scholar,—resolve now, if you never did so before, not to lose those precious hours, the weight of which may be prized in gold, while they have the speed and lightness of feathers; and most of all, I wish you to prize beyond all other acquisitions—beyond the acquisition of learning, however solid, or the mastery of accomplishments, however brilliant; prize before them all, the formation of individual character, the building up of moral habits, the whole pervading discipline of duty. Join docility and teachableness in your studies to that independence and resolution of will, which will enable you to apply and to appropriate to yourselves the teachings of others' wisdom, and the lessons of your own experience; so that when the time shall come for your leaving the friendly shelter of this institution, and for launching out your small barks into the wide and stormy sea of life, you may not only carry with you those honourable certificates of approval of your past exertions and conduct, which I have had the satisfaction of delivering to two of your number this day, but you may go forth into the busy arena of the world, and there, whatever may be your special calling,—in literature and art, in science or in business, amidst public avocations or among family connections,—you may at last, one and all of you, be fitted and prepared to play the part of useful Christian citizens.

I would now only gently remind even those who have so honourably come forward in support of this institution, that while they desire to promote the cause of a creditable and liberal education amongst those members of society for whom it is calculated, they must not forget, that in these times it is most indispensable to the welfare and even to the salvation of the country at large, that the benefits of education should not be confined to any particular class of persons; but that they should be extended to every species of occupation, and to every department of society. Given already to the nobles, to the merchants, to the master manufacturers, they ought not to be withheld from the mechanic, the labourer, and the cottager. You have made ample and splendid provision in order to meet the exigencies of those that are, comparatively speaking, *in easier circumstances*, and in so doing you have done most wisely,

and most well. May those classes enjoy and appropriate the advantages thus held out to them; may we hear of your sons giving themselves up with ardour to all the studies of this place; may they delight in the sublime lay of Homer, and the faultless line of Virgil; may they obtain a proficiency in every polite and graceful accomplishment, or wing their adventurous flight through the highest realms of science! But while they do all this, be it our care also to provide that, if you will, a plainer, but still a sound and substantial, nourishment shall be afforded to the bulk of the nation, to those who make the pith and marrow of our people. See that it is put within their reach; see that it offers itself to their notice; see that it woos their acceptance; even let it be pressed upon them, though they should at first sight seem unwilling to take advantage of it. While you support Academies and Colleges, give your assistance and your countenance also to working mens' classes, and to Mechanics' Institutes. While you amply uphold the credit of Huddersfield College, promote also the prosperity of the day-school, and the Sunday-school. Let education be provided for the heirs of poverty and the children of toil, as a genial relaxation from the weary hours of labour; let it be provided for them as a solid and sustaining nurture for the intellectual, the moral, and the spiritual cravings of their nature. And let me give this parting exhortation to you,—that within the whole range of your several spheres, according to the best of your abilities, you should promote the united cause of a free conscience and a universal education.

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#### YORKSHIRE UNION OF MECHANICS' INSTITUTES.

(*Wakefield, May, 1844.*)

It has so happened, that although I have long been most fully alive to the great utility and advantage of the institutions which generally go by the name of Mechanics' Institutes, this is the very first time at which I have been able to attend the regular proceedings of a Mechanics' Institution within the county of York. To the members, indeed, of these Institutes, to the great body of the mechanics of the *West Riding* of Yorkshire, I may flatter myself

that I am not wholly a stranger ; many of us have met upon other occasions, and upon a different stage ; but however important such occasions may have been, and however interesting or lofty the themes which belonged to those other theatres of action, a gathering like that of this evening has one evident superiority ; it embraces no topics of difference, it marshals us into no opposite ranks of party or denomination, it has nothing to do with conflict ; all it has to do with is co-operation. I look upon Mechanics' Institutes as both a creation and a type of the days in which we live ; the influences of which they were born, and of which they breathe, are wholly of modern growth. The time was when, in the immediate neighbourhood of the place where we are now met, the opposing armies of the rival Roses were drawn up in menacing array, and soon mixed in murderous conflict ; but now, gentlemen, instead of such a competition between us and our good brethren of Lancaster, the objects of our rivalry are, the number and excellence of our respective Mechanics' Institutes ; this is, you will agree with me, a far better sight to exhibit in the eyes of heaven and the world than the brawls between the troopers of Warwick and the retainers of Clifford, when Baron was hewing at Baron, and Franklin hacking at Franklin. These revolting scenes, however, have left no other memorial than the exquisite little chapel on the bridge which spans your now peaceful Calder, raised to make propitiation for the souls of the slaughtered ; and the days of the Barons have become the days of Mechanics' Institutes. Not that the one came in immediate succession to the other. After what may be especially called the feudal era, there came gradually the days of industry and enterprise, of the stout labourer, and ingenious artificer, and busy trader, and active merchant ; nor can we say that their day is yet over, nor must we wish it to be over. No ; by the activity of our enterprise and the energy of our industry we have raised a population so vast, and reared a dominion so mighty, that we cannot stop, even if we would ; and the wealth which may have once been only considered as the glittering prize of ambition, has become a condition and a necessity even of our national existence. But within a period of almost the youngest life amongst us, new influences have been brought to bear, especially, on the working and industrious classes of the community ; *a new spirit has been breathed into the dry frame of trade and enterprise ; and the education, and the accompanying knowledge,*

which formerly only graced, and that sometimes very superficially, the more privileged and opulent members of the community in the warehouse and counting-house, have now struck their kindly roots deeper down, and visited the mechanic at his workshop, and the weaver at his loom. Instead of merely impregnating the upper layers of the mass, they have penetrated, and warmed, and vivified the whole body beneath. In the process of this, I will not say, revolution, because the word sometimes conveys the idea of something violent, formidable, and convulsive; but of this great social recovery, this gradual and genial progress, Mechanics' Institutes and similar institutions have borne a conspicuous and most creditable part, and in the furtherance of Mechanics' Institutes, as in other good things, the men of Yorkshire may claim a very honourable share. Why, they produced from among them Dr. Birkbeck, who I believe may be justly considered their original founder; and they honoured, in the election of Lord Brougham, one of their most efficient patrons and supporters. I say nothing of those who are now prominently engaged in this good field of action. It is, therefore, with much pleasure that I witness such a meeting as this, which, to say nothing of its more ornamental portion, comprises not only so goodly an assembly of the members and mechanics of this fair city of Wakefield, but shows, by the number of representatives and delegates which it has brought together from other similar bodies within the Riding, that there is a sort of corporate life among you, not perhaps equally vivacious and mettlesome in all the limbs, but still ready to feel sympathy, and to communicate energy; to assist the struggles of the weak, and to applaud the success of the strong. May this wholesome and precious rivalry long continue, in which, while it will be an honour to be first, it will yet be a pleasure to be outstripped! In truth, the circumstances of this great district ought to command the general prevalence and hearty support of institutions of this character; you have here the large accumulation of great masses of people; you have a great diversity and keen competition of employments, exciting ingenuity, and stimulating discovery; the nature of your occupations is such as to call for all that can be procured in the way of refreshment and relaxation. In your busy and engrossing occupations, toiling at your daily task, and for your daily bread, you may certainly be without those opportunities and aids to advancement in study or in discovery *which belong to studious ease, or to learned leisure*; but



it is not from these quarters that the most brilliant contributions to human advancement have been always made ; it was not from these classes that Watt, or Brindley, or Fulton, or Burns, or Chantrey, came. In my travels on the great continent of North America, I chanced to fall in with a blacksmith in one of the interior States, who, while he most assiduously performed all the requirements of his calling, accomplished the mastery of, so as to be perfectly able to read, about fifty languages. I have just put down an extract which was made from the journal of this blacksmith linguist ; it is a diary of his daily business for five days taken by chance in the course of the year. The extract is from the commonplace book of Elihu Burritt, in 1838. " June 5th. Read fifty lines of Hebrew, thirty-seven of Celtic ; six hours of forging. June 6th. Read thirty-seven lines of Hebrew, forty of Celtic ; six hours of forging. June 7th. Read sixty lines of Hebrew, sixty lines of Celtic, fifty-four pages of French, twenty names of stars ; five hours of forging. June 8th. Read fifty-one lines of Hebrew, fifty lines of Celtic, forty pages of French, fifteen names of stars ; eight hours of forging. June 10th (Sunday). 100 lines of Hebrew, eighty-five pages of French, four services at church, Bible-class at noon." For many days he was unwell, and sometimes worked twelve hours at the forge ; so that it seems that he did not come within the Ten-hours bill. Now, lest you should be tempted to think that the concerns of his handicraft interfered with or were prejudicial to his course of study, I shall subjoin a remark which was made with respect to him by Mr. Combe, the eminent phrenologist, who travelled in America, and who gave the greatest attention to the developments of the human head, and to the conditions of human health. Mr. Combe says : " One thing is obvious, that the necessity for forging saved this student's life ; if he had not been forced by necessity to labour, he would in all probability have devoted himself so incessantly to his books, that he would have ruined his health, and been carried to a premature grave." So you perceive that work may not only be no drawback but even an assistance to the most intense literary labour : the patient achievements of well-directed industry, and the heaven-kindled flame of genius, are confined to no order of our fellow-men, and are denied to none. The Mechanics' Institute is quite as likely as the country churchyard to produce,

*" Hands that the rod of empire might have swayed,  
Or waked to ecstasy the living lyre."*

But then, if it does produce them, it is much more likely to discover them, develop them, and to give them to mankind ; if we do produce them, we will not keep our Miltons "mute and inglorious," as they were in the churchyard. As for our "village Hampdens," I do not know what we can do with them. I hope I say it without offence to a very excellent and kind-hearted neighbour of yours, I do not know what else we can do with them than send them to protect Heath Common against its threatened inclosure. For these reasons, as well as for many more that have been often better said, I do hope that all whom I now address, and all whom my words may in any way reach, will continue and extend their support of all Mechanics' Institutes within their neighbourhood and influence. They will do well to attend to all suggestions respecting improved methods and enlarged means for instruction and enjoyment which the progress of time and the increased attention given to the whole subject will be continually supplying. I need not caution you not to make your proceedings too frivolous, or occasions either for idle dissipation or boisterous clamour ; but neither would I have you make them too grave and stiff. You may generally mix the acquisition of sound knowledge and rational improvement with social enjoyment, with occasional merry-making, with all that lights a smile on the brow of care, throws a spell over the weariness of labour, or promotes mutual good will and neighbourly heartiness ; nor need I add, that, although in the remarks which I have made I have confined myself to what seemed the direct object of these institutions, that is, the promotion of useful knowledge and the pursuit of rational enjoyment, I might remind you that, while all kinds of knowledge are useful, there is one, and perhaps only one, which is absolutely needful ; and while of all knowledge we are told that it shall vanish away, of Christianity we know that it never faileth.

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#### LEEDS MECHANICS' INSTITUTION.

(February, 1845.)

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,

Even without the very friendly introduction of your chairman (*Mr. E. Baines*), I should have felt that I did not present myself

before you as an absolute stranger. When I have come before you, it has generally been under the pressure of some exciting topics of the moment, and also at periods when I could not hope to chime in with the unanimous feeling of all who might hear me. On the occasion of our present meeting, though our topics are not deficient in interest or in dignity, yet I am happy to feel that they are calm, conciliating, and combining; and that not one person whom I have the pleasure to address, probably, will find any opinion of his ruffled by any counter-sentiment which I may have to offer. That the constitution and purpose of your society—the object and spirit which has brought together this intelligent and genial assembly—exactly falls in with all my sympathies, and stirs up all my warmest interest, it will be almost superfluous in me to declare. If I wanted testimony to the value of such institutions, I do not think that it could have been borne in a more interesting or striking manner than in the address which you have just heard from your late honorary secretary, Mr. Kitson, who, in addition to the happy and encouraging results which he has observed in others, tells you, with all the force and warmth of his own consciousness and his own gratitude, that if it had not been for the Mechanics' Institution, he probably would not have stood before you in the same honourable position, and in the same creditable sphere of society, which he now fills. I should feel the utility and importance of such an institution in any place whatsoever; but I feel them most abundantly in this busy city, in this populous district, in this stirring hive of industry and enterprise, amid these bristling stacks of chimneys, this roaring clatter of wheels, this ceaseless hum of tongues, this wear and tear of human life. Do not think that in any of the expressions that I have used I mean to depreciate the dignity of labour, or to rob it of any of its well-won honours. On the contrary, when your chairman was talking just now of temples erected by the pagan population of Rome to Virtue and to Honour, I cannot help feeling that if I had lived in the old times of mythology, almost the first power to which I should have been willing to pay divine honours would have been Labour. Indeed, of all the heathen gods and goddesses, by far the most creditable character seems to me to have been Vulcan, who went hammering on in his sooty forge, while the rest of them either indulged themselves in idle dissipation, or were engaged in slaughtering the unhappy mortals supposed to be subject to their

20. If I wanted to cite a testimony and an evidence of the power of labour, and of the mode in which it can alter the surface, and transmute the entire substance, of the matter on which it acts, I think I might adduce as my proof the contrast of times when your forefathers met to transact the business of war under the old oak of Skyrack, or when the cloth market was held upon the bridge, and the clothiers exposed their wares upon its battlements; and of these our own times, when the hill and valley teem with life and occupation; when the forest is turned into hamlets, and every hamlet has become a large and important in itself; and the rustic lanes of olden times are transformed into crowded thoroughfares and busy markets, where the interchanges of a wide-spread commerce are being made and repassed in their perpetual current; where the fleeces of the Elbe, or the Crimea, or Australia, are mixed up with our grown "wools and shorts;" and whence the products of your mills and your workshops are sent forth to clothe the freed inhabitants of the West India Islands, or the countless hordes of the East of China. I am, indeed, far from belonging to that fond, old-fashioned school, which is always looking wistfully back to the past, and thinking that our sires had a better job of it than ourselves. I am, indeed, far from questioning that this school has many very able and amiable men. At the same time, I am sure that "Young England" has rather too much of Old England in it. I cordially believe that, on the whole, this is the time, and the country, to live in. When I say this, I am far from meaning that all is just as it should be. I know that there is much that is amiss, and which needs to be set right. There are our dwellings, our sewerage,—the supply of water, of air, of light,—improvement in education, both in quantity and quality. Above all, there is the stagnant mass of poverty, which needs to be moved, and to be uplifted. But still, making all due allowance for these and unquestionable drawbacks, I believe that there never was a time like that which an eminent and lamented writer, the late Mr. Arnold, termed "this kingly commonwealth of England," or that there never was a period like the present, which afforded more scope for every appetite of manly intellect, and more scope for every exercise of active virtue. I believe there is scarcely anything that might not be attained, if we could only one and all of us *line to rise up to what we might be*; if it could only be felt

thoroughly by every one of us, no matter how humble his place, or how contracted his sphere, that each one has his own appointed work and mission,—not, assuredly, by indulging in any puffed-up opinion of his own capacity, and endeavouring to escape from his natural place or his allotted business, but by constant and conscientious perseverance, in which he might do much, very much, to smooth all the troubled elements of the daily life around him, and to aid the general welfare and advancement of his species. I believe that there is nothing at once so ambitious, and yet so humble, as duty; and it is the true, the practical, the Christian philosophy to endeavour rightly to apportion and attemper the ambition and the humility. It is because I believe that labour affords the main occasion and chief exercise-ground of duty, and because I see what labour has already done, and stretch my eyes forward to the yet greater things which it has to do in the world, that I said that if I had lived in the olden times, I should have been ready to build temples and altars in its name. But when I give this merited praise to labour, I believe, at the same time, that, with a view to the interests of labour itself, with a view to its vigorous, and permanent, and cheerful exercise, we ought not to exact too excessive and engrossing a service; but that breaks and relaxations are desirable, and salutary, and even necessary, to its own proper development and support. It is, therefore, that I love to read occasionally of the expeditions made by the Monster trains which convey large numbers far away from the smoke and confinement of their own streets and shops, to see what ever may be worthy of note, upon the many points of that great net-work of railways by which we are in the process of being surrounded,—to the crowded quays of Liverpool or the gothic aisles of York; and I should not repine—let me say it with the peace of Mr. Wordsworth—if a protracted line of railway should, on some sunny afternoon, carry a large bevy of the tradesmen of Leeds to the soft margin of Windermere or Ullswater. It is on the same ground that it has given me peculiar pleasure to have the privilege of witnessing and sharing the celebration of this evening, in the midst of such a community as I have already adverted to, and in the presence of such a company as that which I now see around me. It has, indeed, fallen to my lot often to be present at what are termed fashionable amusements in various quarters of the globe, and I have always found that they are pretty

much the same thing wherever in the world it might be—whether amongst the courtier circles of St. Petersburg, or the republican dandies of New York. I do not mean to assume any very severe or moralizing tone with respect to the attempts of people to amuse or enliven themselves, but I must say that I have generally found these very polished amusements to be rather listless, unmeaning, and unsatisfying things, where people seemed to come because they had nothing better to do, and to find it a great relief when it was time to go away. But an assembly like this, confined to no class or walk in life, comprising very many of what are termed the middle and labouring classes of society, those who keep the business of daily life really going, brought and kept together by no other tie than the love of knowledge, the wish to attain it and to communicate it, to acquire for themselves and to dispense to others the reciprocal benefits of instruction and advancement—this, to say nothing of its being more useful and more ennobling, seems to me a far fresher, livelier, heartier thing, than the high-flying entertainments I have adverted to,—the morning battue or the midnight polka. The constitution of your society seems to me to embrace all the objects which it must have been designed to accomplish. I am glad to hear from the lips of your respected chairman that it has lately been growing by hundreds, and I hope the time is coming when it is to increase by thousands. The purposes which it effects seem to me to supply a suitable and harmless relaxation to the strain of daily toil, and a pleasant variety and stimulus to what is, perhaps, even worse than the strain and severity of toil, the sameness of habitual routine. The mechanic or the operative, shut up during the day within the precincts of the shop, or with his ear dulled with the recurring sound of his shuttle, may here learn something of that Nature from the personal observation of which he is, in a great measure, debarred; and something of the past history of his country, to whose wealth and power his industry and enterprise make no mean contribution; or something of the links which attach him to higher and more enduring destinies. The delivery of oral lectures and the communication of original papers appear to me to be a most valuable supplement to the hoarded treasures of past wisdom and genius which are stored in the volumes of your libraries. On looking over your report, I was greatly struck with the interesting subjects which formed the materials of the lectures and

papers which have been read and delivered during the last year and I now rejoice to find that your chairman himself shortly meditates to give you a history of the invention of that art of printing which, in its maturity, has been so honourably illustrated by the name he bears. If I had to choose one of the most encouraging and gratifying circumstances of the times in which we live,—if I were asked the feature in them upon which I should be inclined to dwell with most of complacency and hope, I should not select even the expansion of commerce, or the revival of trade, little as I should be disposed, anywhere, and least of all in this neighbourhood, or this society, to undervalue the numberless direct or indirect advantages connected with these considerations; nor yet the increase of our naval force, though I concur in the probable expediency of such a step; nor still the wisdom of any of the provisions of the recent budget, for which I trust I may be allowed to do justice even to a political opponent: but it would be the manifest increase and development of that kindly and considerate spirit, which in so many quarters and in so many directions seems to be guiding many of the wealthier and more educated classes to improve, cheer, and elevate the condition, to consult the present comfort—and the abiding welfare of their worse-provided and destitute brethren. I do not seek to attach an exaggerated or undue importance to any single measure or undertaking of the sort—public libraries in one place, public laundries in another, public walks and parks in a third. I know that wisdom is not always inseparably to be found even in a library, and that health cannot be commanded in every case, even by the Hydropathic establishment of Ben Rhydding. But I believe all these measures to be useful as auxiliaries; I believe them to be conceived in a right spirit, and to be directed with a proper aim. I know that the mass of penury and wretchedness which occasionally may fester in your streets and wound the eye of day, or else shrink to pine and perish in the shade—and I am sorry to observe that the recent experience of some of you bears witness to these dark truths—I know that this unsightly and gloomy mass cannot be raised by any single wrench of the lever, or be moved by the prowess of a single arm; but if a persevering, and discerning, and conscientious benevolence will keep itself fixed to the work,—if it will stretch out its many and far-reaching hands, *loaded with the supplies for all the necessities of mankind—food for their hunger, medicine for their sickness, air and light for their dwellings, culture and instruction for their ignorance, relaxation*

for their long weary spells of toil, the vigour and buoyancy that wait upon that blessed thing called progress, there is nothing that I would despair of, from the efforts of the enlightened sagacity of our day, ministering the charity of the Gospel. I do not wish to arrogate too high or solemn a character for our present proceedings, or for the gathering of to-night, but I believe them to be subsidiary to the graver duties and sterner business of life. Looked upon in that light, I believe such meetings and such institutions to be conducive to sound information, to refined accomplishment, to social enjoyment, to mental and to moral progress; and thus esteeming them, I have no hesitation in giving, and in commending to your favourable acceptance, "Prosperity to the Leeds Mechanics' Institution and Literary Society."

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## SUNDAY SCHOOL JUBILEE.

*Halifax, June, 1846.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am extremely obliged to you for the great kindness and warmth of your welcome to me. I must state to you, that I come before you, at present, in rather a chance or haphazard manner, and it was a very sudden thought my finding myself able to be here at all; so that I am by no means able to address you in anything like a prepared or premeditated harangue. But knowing that you were to meet this evening, and having been favoured with an invitation to be present on the occasion, I could not forego the sincere gratification which it gives me to find myself among such an assembly, upon such an occasion, and at the close of such an exhibition as we have beheld this morning. I was very sorry indeed to be prevented by an inevitable engagement from witnessing more of that interesting and elevating spectacle than I did, as I only came in at what may be called the tail of it; but I did see enough, and I did hear enough, to convey impressions which I feel assured will remain to the end of my life. I have, indeed before, had occasion to be present, and even to be a speaker, in that same noble area, the Fleece-hall of this town; but then it was upon occasions which took place amidst the muddle of electioneering bustle and the din of political excitement. I confess, that it was a very pleasant and



a very soothing contrast to be present in that same space, upon an occasion when all who are brought together seem to breathe the same atmosphere of good will, of harmony, and of love; and I felt sure that no more precious and acceptable offering could arise to the skies than the hymn which came from so many thousands of artless youthful lips, and the homage that I hope ascended to the same quarter from hearts upon which the passions and vices of the world have as yet been able to infix no stain. But, gentlemen, glad as I was to be present at the assembly of young children this morning, and amply as I participated in all the emotions which that exhibition was calculated to convey, I feel I pay a debt of still more strict justice and obligation by coming this evening among the instructors and teachers of those children,—among those who not only teach the infant notes to join in the hymn of praise, but those whose higher and still nobler endeavour it is to instruct the youthful mind and to improve the youthful heart. Such, my friends—whether men or women—such is your praiseworthy and noble endeavour; and I have long felt convinced, both from what I have observed, and still more from what I have been able to collect and learn from others, that it is scarcely possible to overrate the real solid and practical good which is conferred upon our common country by its Sabbath school teachers. There may be those who come forward more prominently and more noisily in the service of their species, in the busy and tumultuous scenes in which my lot is cast. When I resort to the great metropolis of this empire, I see crowds of people, some of them plunged in the giddy round of dissipation and the frivolous routine of fashion,—some of them striving, one after another, upon the ladder of ambition, and all engrossed in an absorbing course, whether of pleasure or of business. I will not deny, that it is the bounden duty and proper vocation of many to mix in those scenes, to bear their part in the strife of the political arena, and endeavour to do what good they can to their country and to their kind, in the various walks of public and political life: but those aims and those labours, however necessary in themselves, however laudable when properly pursued and duly superintended, are but too often mixed with the promptings of selfishness and vanity, and with the desire of personal aggrandisement. But no such drawback seems to me to present itself when we consider the exertions of the common Sunday school teachers, when we consider those exertions which it is your habit and your pleasure soberly, and quietly, and we

ostentatiously to carry on in your several districts and neighbourhoods, very often unmarked by society at large, very often without meeting the praise of your fellows, sometimes even encountering their obloquy, sometimes provoking their ridicule; sometimes being questioned how you can be weak and foolish enough to take so much pains about what does not concern you, and about what does not profit you; about that which does not actually put any money in the purse, which does not bring any grist, as they say, to the mill, — and with no other incitement but the sense of duty which you feel, in your own consciences, and the experience of the good, which, day by day, week by week, and year by year, is manifesting itself around you; for you best know — you, the instructresses and instructors of the Sabbath schools, best know, both what amount of real and practical good they are calculated to effect in this country, — and I will say in this county, situated and circumstanced as it is, and especially in so busy a manufacturing neighbourhood as this; or, rather, you best can feel what a void, what a cruel loss would be felt, if by any sudden calamity your ministrations could be closed, or the Sabbath schools of this active district shut up and abandoned. I know it must be often irksome to you; I am willing to suppose that you will not have been influenced by that weak and unprincipled scoffing to which I have just alluded; I know that you will think, when the path of duty is plain before you, it is your duty to tread it. But I feel that very often it is no common sacrifice you are called upon to make. I know what a life of toil, of exertion, and of watchfulness must be the lot of many of you. I know that many of you have to labour the whole week long in your warehouses, at your counters, in your shops, in your mills, in your factories, and in your quarries; and I can well conceive, that when the seventh day comes, especially after you have given its due portion to the services of the sanctuary, — I well know what a temptation there must be before you, either to enjoy those beauties of nature, and those pleasant walks with which this neighbourhood so eminently abounds, or to spend more time in the family circle and by the family fireside, and thus to rest in comparative inactivity altogether. But you forego these claims; you are willing to make the seventh day also, — I will not say a day of toil, but a day at least where love is labour; for you feel what an awful thing it would be to see the infant and young population of these crowded districts growing up, them-

selves subjected to wearing and harassing toil, often debarred from the opportunities of education, often destitute of a father's care and a mother's love, exposed to all the temptations of evil association and bad companionship,—you know what a desolating and awful thing it would be if this youthful population should grow up without any knowledge of the duty they owe to their neighbour without any instruction in the faith which is to make them wise unto salvation and bring them to their God; and when I looked at that interesting crowd before us to-day, of those who, though now small in stature and weak in strength, are yet to furnish the skill and sinews which are to continue the wondrous processes of British manufacturing ingenuity and enterprise, and who are to bequeath the riches of English industry and augment the glories of the British name, when you, their teachers, are silent in your graves, I could not help breathing a fervent aspiration in my heart that when the time shall come for them to emerge into manhood, and they shall meet the crosses and be exposed to the temptations of this weary and wicked world—when for instance the invitation of the drunkard shall be sounding in their ears, or when the call to dissipation shall be spreading all its allurements before them,—the recollections and impression of the Piece Hall at Halifax might come upon their minds, that the infant hymn they had raised in the days of their youth might yet ring freshly in their ears, and that they might determine to abide by the better inspiration of their youth which you did so much to keep straight and active in the path of duty, in the ways of virtue, and in conformity to the will of God. It does not become one such as I am to offer anything in the way of advice or suggestion to such a meeting as the present, especially as I am quite ignorant whether there is the least occasion for it. But in considering the subject of Sabbath schools, it sometimes comes to my mind, that whereas the young people are themselves exposed to a great deal of toil and hard work during the week, and necessarily must undergo a considerable degree of lassitude, some degree of caution should be observed, lest the pleasing ideas which I should always wish to see attached to the Sabbath might be interfered with, and that too much confinement, too much keeping within doors, too much of what is called commonplace school work, should not be exacted from them. I know that the circumstances of their position in life, I know that the circumstances of this district, render it absolutely imperative,

render it an unspeakable blessing, that Sunday schools should exist, should be encouraged, and should be increased; and it is because I wish them well, and it is because I wish you well in the charge you have so nobly undertaken of them, that I came here to-night. But still, one and all, I should wish you to remember that the string ought not to be strained too tight, that a proper degree of rest, relaxation, and of innocent amusements appropriate to the Sabbath should not be interfered with, and that the young should be enabled to associate it with ideas of enjoyment, and of calm and peaceful happiness. In what follows, I feel sure you have no need of being admonished by me or by anybody else; but I should be very sorry if in Sunday school teaching there was any of that degree of harshness or of crossness which sometimes will occur even among the most meritorious professors of week-day education. Let nothing occur on the Sunday which shall not convey an idea of love, and be connected with thoughts of peace and pleasantness. There was another most agreeable feature in the meeting of this morning, and that was the number and variety of the different denominations which it brought together. I always think religious differences — though I believe, at least in our day, they are likely to be inevitable — are among the most unpleasant and distressing features of the times, and anything to promote religious sympathy, religious concord, and religious harmony, I hail, even independently of its own recommendation and merits, with added cordiality. I do not say anything to tempt you to undervalue the respective differences which you have severally been led conscientiously to adopt. I know how much that is valuable depends upon a strict and steadfast and undeviating compliance with our own inborn sense of truth. But separate opinions may have separate spheres of action, just as in the concerns of that delightful art, which I believe you must have largely practised, from the proof and evidence I heard of it this day — I mean the art of music: one voice is a bass, another is a tenor, and there are various other learned names for them, all proving that separate voices have their distinct and separate offices. When parties are called upon to sing a solo or a duo, they make a distinction of parts, but then there is nothing to prevent all those united voices joining in that common chorus of praise and adoration with which the hymn concludes; and in that way I wish you to maintain your separate differences. *Maintain them where you are bound to do so, in your own consci-*

ences, in your own chapels, in your own cottages, but not so as to refuse to join in that common hymn of praise and adoration which all people in this world are surely intended to send up together to their common Creator and their common Redeemer. Now I have only to renew the expression of the very sincere sympathy which I feel with your objects, the very unfeigned admiration I entertain of the zeal and activity and self-denying love with which you pursue them. I know that the common awards of fame are usually bestowed upon persons and pursuits I think far less deserving of them. They are often given, in the first place and principally, to reward the destroyers and desolators of mankind, — those who spread carnage through peaceful realms, and visit with slaughter unoffending tribes of our species. But, my friends, my sisters, and my brothers, if you will allow me to call you so, you may not have the votes of senators and of Parliaments bearing your names, they may not appear in newspapers or in gazettes, but still, trust me, your labour is not lost, your reward insures itself. It is written in the approving sense of your own consciences; it is written in the gratitude, and, still more, in the improvement of the rising generation who are springing up to life and strength, and I hope to usefulness and to virtue, around you; it is written, above all, in the records of those awards which are to fix our fate in eternity, for I need not remind you by whom it is said — “He that doeth this to the least of these little ones doeth it unto me.” I can add nothing to such encouragements. I most gratefully thank you for the kind attention you have now bestowed upon me. I accept with pleasure the signs you gave that you received and did not reject the relationship which I claimed with you.

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## YORKSHIRE UNION OF MECHANICS' INSTITUTES.

*Huddersfield, June, 1846.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Having been promoted by you to the honours of the chair, I have, in the first instance, to return my thanks to you for the invitation and permission to fill it, and to express to you the very great pleasure which it gives me to meet you upon so agreeable and important an occasion as the present. This, indeed, is not the first

time at which I have had the gratification of occupying a similar post at a meeting of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes. I think it is now two years ago since I discharged the same office at the anniversary meeting then held in Wakefield. Then, gentlemen, I occupied what might be termed a private position; I was not then connected as a representative with the large constituency of the Riding in which we are now met. Since that occasion, I hope you will allow me to say, that I feel I have been regularly and legitimately qualified to fill the office which I now hold. I wish I could consider myself qualified in all respects, for I fear, as often happens to the chairmen of public meetings, that I am perhaps less accurately acquainted with the subject matter of which I have to speak than almost any of those by whom I am surrounded. I have not been able, from want of opportunity, perhaps from want of proper industry, to make myself so well acquainted as I should have wished to have been with the various operations and transactions of the separate Mechanics' Institutions in this Riding and in this county; and, therefore, I can only hope that those who will have to follow me will be able, as, indeed, I am confident they will, to supply all the deficiencies which must necessarily be found in my method of discharging the duties of the place I now fill. I had not even the privilege of attending the meeting of this morning. Therefore your chairman feels himself in the scarcely dignified position of having but little to say to you about the proper business of the meeting. But I know enough of Mechanics' Institutes, — I know enough of the good they are calculated to effect, — I know enough of the good they have effected, — I know enough of the encouragement which has been given them in this county, — and nowhere, perhaps, in a more marked degree than in the town of Huddersfield, in which we are now met, — to be able to express my full sympathy in the success of the cause which has brought us together this evening, and to join my exhortation to all the others that will be addressed to you, to give to these institutions every encouragement and support in your power. It is a rule most properly laid down at these anniversary meetings, that topics of a nature which might excite difference of opinion, and which divide the community into separate demarcations — such as questions of political interest — should be excluded from our consideration; and I am sure, for one, I heartily wish that many of those who may be considered my political opponents

may be numbered among those now present, in order to join their efforts with those of my political friends in promoting an object destined to secure the common good of all. There is, however, one matter which has much occupied public attention of late, to which I cannot help briefly advert — not for the sake of considering its political bearing, not for the sake of eliciting any opinion respecting it from any person who may be now present — but only in so far as I think it is properly and naturally connected with the specific business of the evening. The subject to which I allude is the question of the Corn Laws. And why do I make mention of that? Because, without adverting more at length to what is now passing around us, I trust that if we are justified in considering that this large question is settled — that this great controversy is cleared off, and has left an open stage, I trust I am then justified in recalling to your recollection, that there may be other questions eminently deserving of your attention, lying beyond it, and that even this question of the food of the people ought not to absorb all the legitimate benevolence — all the manly effort which may be stirring among you. I am sure that I shall be the very last person to underrate the importance of that great subject to which I have thus briefly ventured to allude. But it must be confessed, that, important as it is, it primarily at least is a question which refers to our material wants — to the body's food — to the body's growth — to the body's being. Now, bear in mind that the body, though it is much, — though it is that without which there can be nothing else, yet still it is not all — it is not the most important — it is not the most enduring — it is not the most divine part of man's nature. We may be right in our opinion that a repeal of the Corn Laws would not only bring more wheat for the food of man, but that it would bring more oats for horses, more maize for cattle, more provender for pigs. Well, that would be enough for them — the body's food would be enough for them. But men who think and reason — men who speak and argue — men who can form themselves into societies, and can receive and impart instruction, and can enrol themselves as members of Mechanics' Institutes, know that they require more than the bread that groweth stale, and more than the meat that perisheth. What may not be effected by the physical skill and ingenuity of man? His lips may utter, and his ears may drink in, *all the modulations of sound and of melody*; his eye may

pose the most ingenious intricacies of the most delicate patterns, and regulate the assortments of the most striking and vivid colours; his hand may mould the breathing brass or speaking marble; and, above all, his mind may apply the wisdom of the past for the instruction of the future; it may solve the most questions of science and philosophy; it may unfold the countless mysteries, the peerless beauties of nature, or it may people time and space with the most radiant creations of the imagination. Well, then, after we have provided for the body its proper, though indispensable nourishment, I hope that additional physical and additional knowledge will be brought into play to provide for those higher requirements to which I have just adverted. Men of Letters and Legislatures have done all that in them lies to provide the body's food, I hope you will feel that your next great duty is more completely to educate the mind, more thoroughly to feed the soul. We shall then expect Lord John Russell to write of his pithy letters against the evils of ignorance, which are more mischievous, and still more fatal, than those evils of intemperance, of fever, and of mortality, which he so feelingly decried. We shall expect Sir Robert Peel to bring in his Bills, to carry them too, with the same stout will which has lately enabled him, for the introduction of a system for the general education of the people. And we shall expect our Cobdens and Brights to do battle for free trade in slates and primers, for popular arithmetic, cheap chemistry, cheap geography, cheap astronomy, for learning for the many, and literature for the millions. Among the undertakings and institutions which have been successful in promoting the instruction and enlightenment of the masses of the people, Mechanics' Institutes have occupied a prominent and distinguished place. I believe it was a Yorkshireman, the late Dr. Birkbeck, who was the first pioneer in introducing Mechanics' Institutes; and I think it must be confessed that, in Yorkshire, these noble and praiseworthy institutions, to this day, have found a congenial soil. I find, from the official records which have been presented at the regular meeting of the union, that twenty-nine institutions in this county were, before this day, connected with the union; and that twenty of these institutions contained an aggregate of 5594 members. I find that twenty-three institutions applied, and I am happy to say, what is better *applying*, they have to-day been admitted into the Union.



These twenty-three institutes number 3440 members. The aggregate of the number of members of Mechanics' Institutes in Yorkshire, connected with the Union, now amounts to above 9000 persons. There is a further gratifying circumstance, that the increase of members has, in the short space of two years, been one-fourth. Comparing the number of members with the number of the gross population of the districts in which the institutions are founded, it appears that one in every fifty-four persons is a member of one of the Mechanics' Institutes, while in some of the smaller towns — I may mention Pateley bridge and Ackworth — one in every seventeen of the inhabitants is a member of a Mechanics' Institute. Why should the larger towns not take a lesson from their smaller contemporaries? Then I find that various methods are adopted in these institutions. One locality finds that one system suits its operations better, while another seems better suited to a different atmosphere. But one great benefit and advantage of this union, and of this annual gathering, is, that it admits the several members to compare notes with each other, — to find what has succeeded in one place, and what has failed in another, — what is attracting members in one district, and what is repelling them in another, — what tends, in one place, to give a serious and practical character to the operations of the institutes, while, in another, anything which may be looked upon as of a more frivolous or derogatory character may, in its turn, be avoided. I am happy to find that, in all these institutions, several schemes most advantageous and most profitable have been established. In some of them there are all the varieties, while in others one or two obtained a greater vogue. I find that, in thirty-eight institutions, there are libraries which have 38,000 volumes, with an issue, in one year, of 173,000 volumes, made to 7900 members. With respect to evening classes, they seem to me to be one of the most profitable, and one of the most unobjectionable modes of operation which these institutes can assume. One third of the members of the associated institutes are, in the evening classes, receiving instruction in the various branches of knowledge. Eighteen of the institutions have given 235 lectures during the past year; twenty others have given 150; and the whole thirty-eight institutions have given nearly four hundred lectures during that period. *In some towns and cities there are young and kindred institutions which go under the names of "Youths' Guardian Societies,"*

tual Instruction Associations," and "Mutual Improvement Societies;" and I would respectfully advise the members of Mechanics' Institutions not to feel any jealousy or grudge of these kindred societies, if they should exist in any town, and should, on every right sight, be thought to detract from the apparent numbers of an institute itself. Depend upon it, that in this, as in higher spheres, all that are not against us are with us; all that are seeking the same object — that are seeking to refine and elevate the intellect, and the soul, are most useful adjuncts and allies of the Mechanics' Institutes, whatever name they may bear. Then think that the members of these Institutes have exercised wise discretion in not confining their branches of occupation to the severer sciences — to the drier, if they are the loftier, sciences of learning, but have included within their range the domain of the fine arts, and some of the more polite accomplishments. I find that in many of these institutes there are drawing classes. At Halifax, there is an Art-Union for the pupils of the drawing classes, which is thrown open to the town; and in Huddersfield and Leeds, Schools of Design have been established in connection with the Mechanics' Institutes. Now, I rejoice exceedingly that this should be the case; and I would hold out this example to general imitation, because it seems to me that the liberal arts of drawing and of painting, provided they do not draw those who pursue them from those occupations which are necessary for them to follow, are pursuits which not only contribute to enlarge and exalt the taste, but it seems to me that improved and inventive facility of design must tend greatly to promote the special pursuits of which such districts and such towns as these are the theatre. Where is it so much called for to have yourselves instructed in all the witcheries of design and in the wonders of colour, as for the use of those looms, the products of which must arrest the giddy caprice of fashion, and captivate the stidious glance of beauty? Where is it so proper to elicit the combinations and inventions of the fancy as in that town which is the mart of the fancy trade? I do not mean that you should attempt to transfer to your tweeds, to your lastings, to your cassimeres, to your waistcoats, and to your trousers, the dress outlines of a Raphael, or the glowing tints of a Titian, more than I should expect that lectures given on the art of poetry should turn out so many ready-made Miltons and

Shakespeares, or lectures on astronomy so many Newtons and Herschels. But I entertain the conviction that a sound knowledge and appreciation of the principles of science will make you appreciate more rightly the real force of truth and reason, and also that a sound knowledge and appreciation of art will tend to fix in your mind, and to bring out in the products of your hands, the indelible stamps of proportion and of beauty. Then I find that in some of the Institutes there are classes for acquiring a competent knowledge of modern languages : and this seems to me to be a pursuit highly desirable in this age, in this country, and in this district. Why, the carriers and agents in the highways of commerce are, in some sense, the citizens of every clime, and are free of every community ; and why should not our young men be able to drive their bargains, whether it be for the fleeces of Spain or for the oils of Italy, in the harmonious and soft tongues of those regions ? I do not know whether my excellent friend, your worthy President, Mr. Schwann, would expect me to apply the same epithets precisely to his native tongue, but I am sure you all must be alive to the importance of rivetting, as closely as possible, the ties between the people of this country and the great German family. I also observe that in other of the Institutes there are classes set apart for acquiring a knowledge of the principle and practice of singing ; and this, I think, in its place, is a very good pursuit too. I believe that the West Riding of Yorkshire has long been famous for its warblers. You will recollect that it is said that

“ The man that hath not music in his soul  
Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils.”

And so I believe that to sing gaily, cheerily, and in tune from the heart, it is almost necessary to have a good conscience. The graver pursuits, the severer walks of knowledge, carry their own recommendation with them. They must recommend themselves to all intelligent and inquiring minds ; and, believe me, those who have pursued them in earnest—those who have dived most deeply into them, find that they bring with them their own reward. I do not feel it necessary, in addition to what I have said, to guard myself against attaching to knowledge, to science, to art, to fancy, and to genius, any undue or exaggerated value ; I know that good and acceptable as they all are, yet there are better things even *than* these — things more important for man's happiness, and for

virtue. I know that all you can ever read, and all you can  
rn, must fall short of a good temper and a good con-

By a good temper I mean such a temper as will make  
ing workmen, kind husbands, and affectionate fathers; and  
ld — for I learn with great pleasure that some of the in-  
have adopted the valuable and powerful aid of female  
on and help, — such a temper as will make you consi-  
vives and conscientious mothers; and by a good conscience,  
such a conscience as will make you and keep you good  
as and good citizens. Well, gentlemen, by the side and  
arison with such attributes and qualities as these, I will-  
mit to you, that the loftiest soarings of the intellect, and  
htest imaginations of the fancy, are poor and valueless.  
aly it is a very vulgar and a very stupid error, to neglect  
pel anything that is good, because there may be something

We are not apt to refuse a shilling, because we should  
still better to have a sovereign. We know that a shilling  
a sovereign will make a guinea; and so will knowledge  
even the true value of virtue; and knowledge, like the  
very often tends to make up the whole sum of man's real  
n virtue. And so, Ladies and Gentlemen, whom I am  
o look upon as the combined friends, and patrons, and  
s of Mechanics' Institutes, I trust that you will add to  
nowledge, virtue; and that, in fostering and extending the  
f these institutions, you will do what in you lies to make  
ng, heaving, straining mass of the population — too likely  
d astray, — too likely to be corrupted by evil associations  
companionship, if left without the softening and elevat-  
ences of taste and knowledge, — a cultivated, an educated,  
o, all the more probably, a contented and a virtuous people.

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## BRADFORD MECHANICS' INSTITUTION.

*October 6th, 1846.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I have the pleasure to announce to you that it now becomes part of my pleasing duty to open  
proceedings of this evening, and in doing so I cannot refrain from  
ing at the commencement that I believe, though I have in

several instances been in the town of Bradford, upon occasions of political excitement and upon the eve of contested elections, yet that it has never fallen to my lot before to visit Bradford on what I may be allowed to call a purely social occasion. And I have felt, that considering what the importance of this town and district is, and the conspicuous place which it fills in the manufacturing history of our country, its being in fact the seat and capital of one of the principal branches of our manufactures, the worsted manufacture of the country, and its having exhibited, perhaps, a more striking and prodigious growth than any other town whatever within the limits of the kingdom,—having, as I am told, from the beginning of the century, when it scarcely amounted to 5000 inhabitants, now risen to the ample dimensions of 100,000,—and, remembering further that it has been my agreeable duty to attend in other towns in your neighbourhood, having been at Huddersfield, at Halifax, at Leeds, and at Wakefield, upon occasions not in any way connected with politics, — I did feel glad that the time was at last come when Bradford was no longer to be an exception to that rule. In a town circumstanced as this is, among all the toiling, struggling, panting hives of men, women, and children which it includes, where so much of time and thought must necessarily be engrossed by the strain of the daily task, and by the care for the daily meal, I do think it most desirable and most salutary to have some common neutral ground, restricted to no condition, limited to no class, sacred to no denomination, but where all alike equally, and at all times, can meet together, without any restraint save that of mutual self-respect — without any laws save those of good manners, for the salutary and noble purpose of acquiring in the first place useful information ; in the next place, of gaining some proficiency in any elegant accomplishment ; or, in the last place, of partaking in innocent recreation. I think that in a community so situated it is most desirable not only to furnish facilities for your becoming proficient in study, and in the acquisition of useful knowledge, but also to provide means of enlarging the sum of human cheerfulness and contentment. I am glad, therefore, that you should come to the Bradford Mechanics' Institute, that you should come to its libraries, that you should come to its lecture rooms. I wish that all those who feel so proper and honourable an ambition should come here at one time with the view of acquiring *some knowledge* of the wonderful workings of nature, such as they

are developed to us by the processes of inquiry and by the conclusions of science. I am happy to find that some of your lectures are set apart to these high and ennobling pursuits. I am happy, above all, to find that one of your number, a gentleman connected officially with the highest duties of this town, I allude to your Rev. Vicar,\* not only makes presents of his works to you, but is himself the writer of works worthy to be presented. I am glad that at other times you should come here to gain a competent knowledge of the history of bygone ages, not only as that history concerns itself with the details of wars, which have too often been both bloody and unfruitful, with the mere annals of courts, with the intrigues of statesmen, and with the policy of sovereigns who perhaps may be only aiming at their own personal aggrandisement, but of that history which penetrates into the deeper causes that enter inwardly into the life of nations, that decide the laws by which states flourish and by which states decay, that affect the real condition, the average happiness, the daily comfort of the great bulk of the people. I am glad that at other times you should come to make yourselves adequately instructed in what is called the study of biography, in the histories and fortunes of those more remarkable men who have been the lights and models of the ages in which they lived — not only of distinguished generals and mighty warriors, who, though we may regret the effects on human happiness which have too frequently resulted from the bare pursuit of military glory, yet still in the details of their individual lives may often furnish very high and inspiring lessons of difficulties subdued and hardships encountered, — but that you should augment your knowledge of those who have been the more real benefactors of the ages in which they lived, and who are therefore at least as fully entitled to the gratitude of nations, while they may divide with the others their admiration ; — I mean the inventors of useful arts, the discoverers of lofty truths, the martyrs to the sense of right and to the call of duty. And it is pleasing to think that our own times will be able to furnish many splendid contributions to the list of Worthies which I have thus characterised as proper subjects for Biography to concern herself with, and that she will be able to hand down to the latest posterity, together with the unconquered sword of Wellington, the equally enduring record of names such as that, for instance, of Thomas Clarkson, the man who

\* *The Rev. Mr. Scoresby.*

gave the first impulse to the movement which led to the final extinction of the African slave trade, over whose honoured, but not immature grave, all who are best and most philanthropic in the land are now joining together in respectful sympathy. Well, then, I wish that those who feel the due ambition should come to your lectures and to your libraries, to advance and to improve themselves by such studies as those of history and biography; but I think, also, that after the tear and wear of daily labour in your workshops and factories, it would be very captious to object to a man, at the close of a well-spent day, if he felt disinclined at the time to give his attention to any of those severer pursuits, relaxing his mind either with the perusal of good poetry or of graceful fiction. With respect to poetry, I need hardly tell you that, in its proper sphere, lessons as thrilling and as exalting may be derived from the pen of gifted poets as from the most prosaic writings to which we could turn our attention; and, perhaps you will allow me to say, upon this head, at least, that your library, which seems upon the whole to be very well and prudently selected, hardly contains as yet such an assortment of good poets as I think ought to be found in it. And with respect to fiction too, though I would not recommend it as giving the same healthy tone and nourishment to the mind as other more practical pursuits, yet I am pleased to think, especially in later times, that writers of fiction have treated it both with so much refinement and so much enlargement of view, that lessons may be derived from the pages of the best writers of fiction, be they male or female, scarcely inferior to what can be derived from the study of facts. But then, ladies and gentlemen, are you ever too tired even to attend to reading of any sort, or have you no fancy, after a hard day's work, to take up the pages of any book? Well, then, occasionally, I certainly am not sorry to find that you have been in the habit, in this large apartment, of seeking further relaxation in good music and in occasional concerts. Still I know that good concerts and good music cannot be had without some considerable cost, and I think it would not be difficult to devise even less expensive pleasures with which occasionally to vary the long evenings of the winter. Now, why should not any of you, accustomed to come here after a day's work, meeting in the reading room or the library, occasionally prevail upon some one of your number who may be a good reader — and I am sure such are likely to be found among you — to read from one valuable work or other; or even why could you not

enlist some one amongst those who are looked up to as moving in the more opulent classes amongst you, who would be good enough to give his time for such a purpose, and to read to any that may be gathered together in the evening, one of the best plays of Shakespeare, or a piece of Milton's Paradise Lost? And if you should find that the taste grows upon you, you might even take up Pope's Homer's Iliad. However, I leave all that to your own taste and discretion. Respecting those topics which relate more to the accomplishments and to the fine arts, I think it is very gratifying to find that you have established a school for drawing, and that it excites considerable interest among you. I hope you will carry that delightful pursuit still farther; and besides, it cannot be looked upon as a mere idle accomplishment, or as a mere delightful recreation—it will even stand the test of this utilitarian age. This town is largely engaged in manufactures. As I have said, it is busied with one of the principal branches of the manufactures of this country, and it is a branch of those manufactures in which the art of making suitable patterns and designs must find a place. Now, it is a well-known fact that in many respects the manufactures of this country defy all competition, and that in the adaptation of our machinery and in the intelligence of our operatives we are not afraid to confront the whole of the Old world and the New. But it is not less acknowledged by those who take an impartial view on such subjects, that we are inferior to many nations on the Continent as yet in the arts of design and colour, and that we have not arrived quite at that happy delicacy in making out those beautiful combinations in patterns at which some of our neighbours, especially the French, have arrived. Now, I believe there is nothing in the natural composition or genius of Englishmen which unfits them from excelling here as well as in other respects; but they have not yet made it part of their practical, positive business to attend to it; and with this view schools for drawing are most eminently useful. It may be that in drawing schools, where you have models put before you of the human form and other objects of that sort, you cannot see at first sight of what good they can be to you in making out a pretty and delicate pattern; but depend upon it that the eye which has been trained to all the true doctrines of proportion and beauty, will attain comparative excellence in every branch of labour to which it applies itself. And I do most earnestly hope that not only the working classes, the operative



men, those who have to carry on the handiwork of the manufacturers, will attend to this suggestion, but that the great employers of labour will take it into their earnest consideration, too. I hope on all accounts that they will give an enlightened and liberal support to the general purposes of this institution. I feel it to be eminently their duty, but not more their duty than their interest, to take every means of surrounding themselves with an orderly, a refined, an intellectual, and an educated population, and I believe they will find this to be the case in every respect. It will return upon them in a thousand ways, however little immediately concerned the subject-matter of the studies may appear with the daily business with which they are connected; but as the poet Pope, whom I have once mentioned before, and whom I may specify, perhaps not as the first, perhaps not as the greatest, but as the most perfect of our poets, says—

“ True self-love and social are the same ; ”

by promoting the good of others, you are sure in the end to promote your own ; and so upon the most sordid calculations of interest, upon what concerns your pockets, you may depend upon it, that if in the long run the patterns and manufactures of other countries exhibit a decided superiority over your own, you will lose your hold of the market of the world. And, therefore, beside encouraging good order, besides encouraging general knowledge, besides encouraging useful information amongst those by whom you are surrounded, also promote that taste for beauty, that true conception of the loveliness of nature of which art is but another embodiment, and you will find it the best means, not only of advancing and elevating the population in which you live, but of rendering yourselves superior to all the competition of the world's rivalry. I am glad with this view to find that it is in the contemplation of the committee to found, I believe, a new condition of admission, by which, if a person subscribe a guinea a year to the funds of this Institution, he shall not only be entitled to share in all its privileges and advantages himself, but shall have the privilege of introducing two pupils gratuitously to all its benefits. And most gratified I should be to learn that the great manufacturers and employers of labour in Bradford avail themselves of *this condition* not only to associate themselves with this Institution, *which I think* would reflect such just credit upon them, but to give *the means* to those least able to afford it, of reaping the benefit which

it holds out to its members. I am glad, also, to find another contemplated condition, which I think is conceived in the true spirit of Yorkshire liberality and hospitality, — that condition is, that when any member of any other Mechanics' Institution in the West Riding of Yorkshire shall be resident for a time within this town, he shall be entitled to free admission to the benefits of this Institution. I think this is an admirable rule, calculated not only to extend the benefits of your Institution, but to promote the advantages of communication and feelings of good fellowship among all those who are brought together by kindred tastes and by kindred pursuits. It would be in vain for me to dissemble, ladies and gentlemen, now that I have offered the few practical remarks which have occurred to me — it would be in vain for me to dissemble what interest I feel in all that concerns the real interests, and what pride I take in all that advances the real character of the inhabitants of this Riding. This important district comprises a vast number of large towns and communities which are themselves the seats and centres of kindred and analogous, though, I believe, in many respects, of somewhat different branches of manufacture. Well, what I want you to do is, not to vie with each other alone in the skill of your handicraft, or in the ingenuity of your machinery, or in the accumulation of your capital, but in the nobler growth of the mind, the intellect, and the character. Be careful to show that upon this generous and splendid field of competition, while you do not grudge being outstripped by any other town, you will not be content yourselves, if there be any danger, to remain the hindmost. You are now, most of you, and have been for some time, busily employed in connecting your several towns with each other by means of railways. Well, be equally careful to speed the intercourse of the mind as well as of the body. Do not let your "West Riding Unions" be confined merely to the railway world, but let them include in your care and in your liberality the Union of the West Riding Mechanics' Institutes, and all other Institutions devoted to the like noble and improving purposes. Cut your first sod in the dense crust which has too long overlaid the genial capacities of the soil beneath — open the waste lands of selfishness, of ignorance, of prejudice, and of error, in order that you may call forth the full development of mental progress and moral culture; and let the free communication of knowledge, and the improving intercourse of thought, ply incessantly.

santly along those new highways which, in their advancing progress, are to bring together the wants and the attainments of the united human family.

### MANCHESTER ATHENÆUM.

October, 1846.

I trust I shall be believed, when I say I appreciate my situation. Whatever may be the incidents of distinction, or responsibility, with which I am elsewhere invested—honoured as I am by the choice of no mean Constituency on the other side of the hills which bound your prospects—permitted as I am to bear a part in the highest councils of the State—I can in all truth assure you, that I find something very new, fresh, and large in the honour of being called upon to preside at this annual jubilee of the Manchester Athenæum. The sense of honour, and let me add with as much truth, of difficulty also, is certainly not lessened, when I call those to mind who have preceded me in the same post, upon these brilliant occasions. The last echoes of this assembly, which I now feel it is a hardship in me to rouse again, answered to the accents, deep, gentle, and earnest as his own spirit, of Mr. Serjeant Talfourd—why, there is something in the very name of an Athenæum which bespeaks it to be a fitting theatre for all the utterances of the bard of *Ion* and the *Athenian* captive. Next before him, I well know that your souls must have thrilled under the spell of so potent a magician as Mr. D'Israeli; even in the very hottest conflicts of party, from which we are here happily sheltered, I think it was impossible even for his most exposed victim to have been blind to the point, the brilliancy, the genius, which played about the wounds they made—but here, on this gorgeous stage, amidst this apt and congenial auditory, on the themes so familiar to him of literature, of art, of imagination, I, who could only read in cold print what he said, without all the kindling accessories of time and place, can yet easily believe how the admiration, which could not be withheld even on the barren ground of political controversy, must have here been heightened almost into enchantment. And it was at the first, I believe, of these assemblies, the first at least held upon this scale of size and splendour, that its chair was filled—better it can never again be filled—by Charles Dickens—that bright and genial nature, the master of our sunniest smiles and our most unselfish tears, whom, as it is impossible to re-

the most ready and pliant sympathy, it is impossible to at least have found it so) without a depth of respect, and a depth of affection, which a singular union of rare qualities commands. I have made it my business, too, to look at what (when they were here; but this, while it certainly has added very highly to my gratification, has also only added to my embarrassment; for it would indeed be an endeavour irksome and hopeless for me, to revive in feeble expression, and to pourtray, what was pourtrayed by them with so much force and exuberance. I therefore feel that at this time of day, to be all in this place, it would be an impertinence in me to say that learning in any community will not prove "a dancing"—that commerce, which has formed, and which now sustains a community like this, is the natural ally of literature—that the tastes which may be here encouraged, the habits which may be here fostered, are those which give a grace and glory to the lives and characters of men. Yes, I do rejoice with the most ardent of those who have preceded me, of those who surround me,—I do rejoice over the impulses and associations which are impressed upon the times we live in, and which sustain this, and assemblies like these, serve to rivet and transfigure; that English commerce is rising up to the height of its mission, and feeling the real dignity of its calling; but this is not this the Genoese, this the Venetian did; the worthies of the old English commerce are content to be merchants, without being princes; if we have Medicis, they are not intent on seeking alliance with the thrones of Europe; their best aim will be now to rise to the same level of knowledge, of happiness, of virtue, the level of the people. I rejoice that here, in Manchester, where all dispute the first city in the ancient or modern world for manufacturing enterprise and mechanical skill, you have not been content with that display of wealth which jostles in your streets and is piled in your warehouses; you do not think it enough to raise factories tier upon tier, and magazines that will outlast the traffic of the world, but you have thought it part of proper business, too, to build and to set apart a haunt for the people's enjoyment, for useful instruction, for graceful accomplishment: lofty thought, the shrine of Pallas Athene in a Christian land; may this long be the resort, together with those kindred neighbouring institutions, which this does not aim to eclipse.

or overlay, but to encourage and excite, where all who are engaged in the business and the labours of this unparalleled hive of industry may find rest for their flagging spirits, a neutral ground for their manifold differences, invigorating food for their reason, and an impulse, onward and upward, to all the higher tendencies of our nature. I am glad to perceive that, as the benefits of the establishment are confined to no condition, no class, no denomination, so they are not exclusively appropriated even to one sex. Women have always played an important, perhaps not uniformly a beneficial part in this world's history. I believe as civilisation advances, they will play both a more recognised and a more elevated part than they have ever yet done; and I trust that among the many currents upon which the restless activity of our age is eddying along, a prominent one will be devoted to making female education sound, substantial, and enlightened; all it ought to be for training those who themselves must in any case be the real trainers, as they may be the best trainers, of our citizens and our workmen. From all I can gather, the wholesome effects of your association have, by no means, been confined to its own walls or its own operations; it not only walks its own round, but is suggestive of many kindred processes; or, if I may borrow an illustration from one of the disputed problems of the upper skies, in its career of light and progress, it throws off from itself separate bodies, which harden into distinct masses, and glow with independent lustre. Has it not been very much under the impulse of ideas struck out and caught up here, in your lecture rooms, in your social gatherings, in the more earnest friction of your discussions, by the agency mainly of your members, your officers, your founders, that the public parks, which have added so much, both of material and of real beauty to your great city, that the public baths and wash-houses, which have still deeper effects than on the mere linen and the skin, that the attention given to sanitary regulations of every description, have owed their rise? Can you look to other sources for industrial schools, for the weekly half-holiday in warehouses, for the early closing of shops?

You will perceive that I have not refrained from some of those obvious topics in connection with the institution, which the part assigned to me of opening the proceedings of the night necessarily almost imposed upon me. Let me turn for a little *time from the institution to yourselves*, — you who constitute it, *are its essence and its life*. I perceive that one of the

ers by whose eloquence you have heretofore been so much  
 ed, addressing himself to the youth of Manchester before  
 told them with emphasis to aspire. Far be it from me  
 l them otherwise ; all who feel within them the sacred  
 , who are strung for the high endeavour, who have girded  
 selves for the immortal race, I would address in the same  
 , even the terms of the great moralist poet, Dr. Johnson:—

“ Proceed, illustrious youth,  
 And virtue guard thee to the throne of Truth !  
 Let all thy soul indulge the generous heat,  
 Till captive Science yield her last retreat ;  
 Let Reason guide thee with her brightest ray,  
 And pour on misty Doubt resistless day ! ”

indeed, by such means, by patient inquiry, by diligent study,  
 umble-minded searching after truth, that all real knowledge  
 be wooed by man, equally removed from the shallow pre-  
 tion which sets up its own speculations and sophistries in the  
 of a conscientious reason and a disciplined faith, and from  
 ind bigotry which bawls down fair argument, decides against  
 and condemns without hearing. But I was saying that I  
 ot wish, I could not wish, to damp or discountenance the  
 se of your young men to aspire ; for well I know that genius  
 : property of no condition, the apanage of no class of men :  
 l often be seen to rise, like the Goddess of old, out of the ocean  
 , from those surfaces of society where you would least ex-  
 o find it, break through all the surrounding uniformity, and  
 sudden radiance round the new horizon. But, while I am  
 to track its shining course, and bask in its genial warmth,  
 atever orbit it may be moving, I would yet venture to remind  
 hat there is something more admirable than genius, and that  
 tue ; there is something more valuable than success, and that  
 y. The hope of succeeding in the world, and of playing a  
 g part, may sometimes operate powerfully as an incentive,  
 : is too apt to engross both the efforts and the admiration of  
 ind. I was struck with the import of an expression I once  
 . from a friend, though you will at once perceive that it is  
 o be understood quite in its literal acceptation : the expression  
 that Heaven was made for those who had failed in the world.

all sorts of unbecoming and unamiable feelings may un-  
 dly accompany and embitter failure, just as every bright

and blessed quality of the heart and mind may enhance and adorn success; but to aim at success, to meet with failure, and not to grudge it, to be outstripped by a rival and yet

“To hear

A rival's praises with unwounded ear,”

this is an effort and a triumph besides which all the ordinary successes of life are mean and trivial. Success, after all, in nearly every walk of life, from the aspiring statesman to the ambitious parish beadle, unless very carefully watched, very anxiously chastened, is apt to be made up of very coarse, obtrusive, vulgar ingredients, certainly not of heavenly temperament; while there is hardly a grace of character, a spring of self-reliance, an element of progress, with which failure, not caused by our own acts, and sustained with an even and brave spirit, may not ally itself. Depend upon it, in a great many instances, the world does not discover, does not recognise its best; there are diamonds in Golconda more precious than any, the Pitt, or the Pigott, or the Kohinoor, which ever blazed in the diadem of sovereigns; there are pearls in unopened shells more lustrous than any that ever shone upon the neck of beauty; the ages as they pass have known their Homer, their Raphael, their Newton, their Shakspeare; but there are prodigalities among the human creation as well as among all besides, that have never yet been fathomed; yet there has never been any thing which, except by its own fault, has been lost or thrown away. Which is the material point,—to be Raphael or Shakspeare, or only to be thought a transcendant poet, or an unequalled painter; to have conceived in the inmost soul the lineaments of the Holy Mother and Divine Babe, the idea of *Lea* on the heath, or *Macbeth* at the banquet, or to have would-be amateurs commending the picture, and crowded audiences shouting bravo in the pit? Only impress upon your minds this great truth—and bear it about with you both to your daily task and to your evening leisure, both to the privacy of your homes, and to your social musters, that it matters comparatively little what we may seem to be—it even matters proportionately little what we may do: what we are matters every thing; what we may seem, is subject to a thousand accidents and misapprehensions; what we may do, is under the control of circumstances; what we are, is entirely under our own. *We may be all we should be; and no matter how humble the situation may be of any one among you, no matter how obscure the*

business which engrosses every precious hour, how insignificant the whole life's drudgery, still in that obscure and unenvied situation, amidst that wearing and numbing drudgery, you may mould for yourselves the qualities, you may build up for yourselves the character which princes, if they knew it, would trust, which multitudes, if they could discern it, would adore. I know that in venturing to speak upon these high topics of morality and conduct, with lips scarcely authorised, I run the risk of imperfect explanation, as well as of much misconstruction. I know it is thought that addresses delivered on such occasions are rather apt to minister too much to the pride of man — to undue adulation of the intellect. I disclaim such tendencies; when I say you may be all you should be, I do not mean to exclude from the method those aids and sanctions which are too high to be here dwelt upon, and no one feels more convinced that reason as well as Christianity makes humility almost its most prominent grace. Who would not be humble who felt, as he ought, the loveliness of virtue, and the magnificence of knowledge? I should like to ask the men who have just added another planet to our system, or, as has been beautifully said, on an earlier occasion, "who lent the lyre of heaven another string," whether their spirit does not recoil with modest awe, instead of swelling with self-sufficient pride, before the secrets of that space into which they have been permitted to throw a more far-seeing gaze than any of their fellows; and when the time shall come which to our enlarged and perfected vision shall unfold the whole bright mechanism of stars, and suns, and systems, shall we not find in the laws which fix their stations, or which guide their mazes, fresh reasons to be reverent, acquiescent, and lowly? It is time, however, for me to come down from the clouds, and indeed from everything else; I could hardly, however, have lighted on a more radiant resting-place on this earth than the present assembly. I only hope that all those who have partaken in its excitement will not merely carry away the transitory emotions to which it may easily give birth, but a settled determination, followed up by a corresponding practice, to give fair play and full scope to all the best and highest purposes of which the Institution is capable; they must be attained by associated effort, but you will hardly fail to remark, at least it is generally the case in institutions of this character, how very much of the work is done by a very few out of the whole number. Now, what we want is more of individual energy in the whole body; each of you make the we



his own ; and let no member of the Manchester Athenæum think that he has done his duty without having done something, according to his opportunities, to give encouragement, efficacy, and credit to an establishment he ought to be so proud to serve. On my own part I have only further to say, that if, when the gay glitter of the scene has passed away,—when the strains of music are hushed, and silence has fallen on the voice of the speaker,—any one of you, in the stillness of the quiet home, or amid the clang of the daily occupation, shall have derived a single encouragement to ennobling reflections or to worthy pursuits,—still more if any, under the sting of disappointment, or a sense of the world's coldness and alienation, shall have been reminded how little it really signifies, and that failure is one of the appointed accesses to Heaven,—if any word that has fallen from me shall have contributed to such encouragement or such alleviation, I shall then feel that I have not come to Manchester quite in vain.

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#### SHEFFIELD ATHENÆUM.

*September, 1847.*

MY LORDS, LADIES, AND GENTLEMEN,

I could not resist the gratification, when it was proposed to me, of attending the meeting of this evening, brought together for the purpose of promoting the interests of the Sheffield Athenæum and Mechanics' Institution, and of encouraging its friends in the good work they have undertaken. I feel, indeed, that having now been called upon to attend some half-dozen meetings within this Riding, for the same purpose and with the same objects, that it would be quite useless for me to endeavour to bring any new illustration, or to offer any new suggestion, even upon a subject so important and interesting as that which engages our attention. "You do well, ladies and gentlemen, to promote the objects of such an Institution as that which has now been founded for thirteen years within your town; and to which, I trust, a fresh impulse and encouragement have been given this day by the ceremony of the morning, in laying a first stone for a new and extensive building under the happy auspices by which you are distinguished upon the present occasion. I hope that the building is destined largely to extend the advantages which have already been derived from the *establishment of a Mechanics' Institution* within your town. I *it is destined to associate with it several kindred objects, con-*

ned with the education generally of the youthful classes, and the promotion of a taste for the Fine Arts, which I can assure you will be found one of the most useful auxiliaries to the peculiar pursuits of this place, as well as highly conducive to the general improvement and elevation of all who can participate in those benefits. I am not, necessarily, intimately well acquainted with the peculiar processes and objects to which the attention of the Members of the Sheffield Mechanics' Institution has of late been directed. I think it is always desirable that the pursuits and studies should not be confined to any one branch of acquirement, inasmuch as the same food does not suit all palates, nor the same food at all times suit the same palates. I certainly hope that your foremost attention, and your most anxious patronage, will always be directed to those studies and objects which are most important for advancing the real, moral, political, and social improvement of your population—which tend to make the mind rational, sober, and manly, and which most fit them for battling in that great conflict of existence in which we must all bear a part, and enlisting under the banner of progress which is unfurled above us. But with those more serious, and solemn, and business-like pursuits, which ought to occupy your foremost attention, I think the promoters of this Institution have done well to mix some attention to the lighter walks of elegant accomplishments and polite literature, and to the cultivation of a taste for art, poetry, or music, which tend so much not only to relax, but to refine the human mind. While I recommend those who are inclined to such studies, to give their foremost attention to the severer walks of history and philosophy, I do not wish to exclude the graceful pages of poetry and fiction, and I will borrow an illustration from those pages, of the truth which I think worthy to be impressed upon your minds. Those of you who have had the opportunity of consulting the old legends of classical mythology, are aware that among the fancied deities with which they peopled the world, there was one who was more especially regarded as the God of labour, and of handicraft, Vulcan by name, who was always represented as being employed in huge smithies and workshops, hammering at heavy anvils, and blowing vast bellows, heating vast furnaces, and begrimed with soot and dirt. Well, for this hard working and swarthy-looking divinity, they wished to pick out a wife. And they did not select for him a mere drab—not a person, taken herself from the scullery or kitchen-dresser; but they chose for him Venus, the Goddess of love and beauty. Now, ladies and

gentlemen, pick out for me the moral of this tale, for I believe that nothing ever was invented, — certainly nothing by the polished and brilliant imagination of the Grecian intellect, which has not its own meaning, and its moral. I have no doubt that all the legends of our own country — that the one even of your own neighbourhood, the Dragon of Wantley itself has its appropriate allegory and meaning, if we only knew how to find them out. But what is the special meaning of the marriage of Vulcan with Venus — of the hard-working artificer with the laughter-loving queen — of labour with beauty? What is it but this, that even in a busy hive of industry and toil like this, even here, upon a spot which is in many respects no inapt representative of the fabled workshop of Vulcan, even here, amid the clang of anvils, the noise of furnaces, and the sputtering of forges — even here, amid stunning sounds, and sooty blackness, the mind — the untrammelled mind — may go forth, may pierce the dim atmosphere which is poised all around us, may wing its way to the freer air and purer light which dwell beyond, and may ally itself with all that is most fair, genial, and lovely in creation. So, gentlemen, I say, your labour, your downright, hard, swarthy labour may make itself the companion, the helpmate, and the husband of beauty — of physical beauty, as I have reason to believe, from the inspection which I am able even now to command, and I have no doubt that a more intimate acquaintance with your wives, sisters, and daughters, would enable me to prove that I was not here wrong in my illustration: — but besides this beauty, I say, your labour may ally itself with intellectual beauty — the beauty which is connected with the play of fancy, with the achievements of art, and with the creations of genius; beauty, such as painting fixes upon the glowing canvass, such as the sculptor embodies in the breathing marble, such as architecture develops in her stately and harmonious proportions, such as music dresses with the enchantment of sound. Now it is to the perception and cultivation of the beautiful in these departments that I look upon your Schools of Design, and your concerts, and many of the lectures which you hear from able and gifted men, as intended to be subservient; and I strongly advise the members of this Mechanics' Institution to show a discriminating and generous support of these tasteful and humanizing pursuits. Above all, I advise you to cultivate a love of reading — *that which makes you almost independent of any other aids and appliances, and puts, with very moderate help, the whole domain*

of philosophy, history, and poetry, within your individual command. Why, gentlemen, a man is almost above the world, who possesses two books. I do not mean to put the two books which I am about to mention upon the same level, far from it, nor am I wishing to intimate to you that two books are sufficient for your study and perusal. I am only mentioning them as representatives of what is most excellent, though different in degree. But I say that a man is almost above the world who possesses his Bible and his Shakspeare—his Shakspeare for his leisure—his Bible for all time. I said some time ago, that labour, even the labour of this district, may unite itself with intellectual beauty. But there is a beauty of a still higher order with which I feel even more assured it is still more open to it to unite itself: I mean with moral beauty—the beauty connected with the affections, the conscience, the heart, and the life. It is indeed most true that in the very busiest and darkest of your workshops—in the most wearying and monotonous tasks of your daily drudgery, as also in the very humblest of your own homes—by the very smallest of your fire-places—one and each of you, in the zealous and cheerful discharge of the daily duty—in respect for the just rights and in consideration for the feelings of others—in the spirit of meekness, and in the thousand charities and kindnesses of social and domestic intercourse,—one and each of you may attain to and exhibit that moral beauty of which I have spoken—that beauty which is beyond all others in degree, because, when it is attained to, it is the perfection of man's nature here below, and is the most faithful reflection of the will and image of his Creator. And thus, ladies and gentlemen, I close my explanation of the marriage of Vulcan with Venus—of Labour with Beauty, and with it I close the remarks which I have risen to offer you this evening. It has been a real pleasure to me to meet you here. I feel that this is neither the time nor the place fitting for me to enter upon any topics connected with local circumstances which are not properly connected with the business or occasion of our meeting. I have spoken of a just regard for the rights of others, and I feel quite disposed to believe that all who come within these walls are always willing to be actuated by a spirit of harmony and by a just regard to the rights and privileges of others. I have told you that labour—your labour—the labour of this district—may be most properly mated with beauty, but labour certainly *loses its dignity* and value if it is divorced from *liberty*. And it is by the aid of this and similar institutions—it is

by the honest and genial influence which they have a tendency to spread around them, that I trust the intelligence and conscience of the times in which we live may be so fostered and so united, that every form and kind of tyranny may be effectually put down and banished ;—the tyranny of opinion, the tyranny of classes ; the tyranny of the few, the tyranny of the many. And it is by the salutary control which an instructed and enlightened public will be competent to exercise over the conduct and march of affairs that you will be best able to guard yourselves, on the one hand, against undue and vexatious interference on the part of governments and rulers, and on the other hand against the abuses and neglect of local and individual interests ; and that you will be able to attain that which ought to be the true aim of a nation's management, the pursuit of the best ends by the most efficient methods.

## YORKSHIRE UNION OF MECHANICS' INSTITUTES.

*Hull, June, 1848.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I have to assure you that it is with very great pleasure that I find myself associated with you on this occasion. Though I am not so able as are many of those by whom I am surrounded to give you an account of the recent proceedings of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutions ; though I am still less competent, from any actual experience, to enter into the concerns of the Athenæum of Hull ; yet I trust that you will consider that I am not out of place on this occasion. For I will beg to remind my East Riding friends among you, that I have the honour to be an office-holder in this riding. But we do not, on this occasion, consider ourselves to be limited by the boundaries of ridings, or even of counties ; and it is with no small pleasure that I see, upon this occasion, associated with us, my friend the Earl of Yarborough, and any coadjutors he may have brought with him from the county of Lincoln. I know that he and his tenantry, to say the very least, are prepared to compete with the whole world in the science and the practice of farming ; and it is gratifying to find that there is no field of improvement, no branch of progress, in which they are not willing to lend a *helping hand*. It was said of old, by the great French king, when *he put his grandson upon the throne of Spain*, that there were

thenceforth to be no Pyrenees; so we, when any object of rational import, or any opportunity of social intercourse is to be imparted, may henceforth say, "There shall be no Humber." Now, with respect to this special occasion which has brought us together, I always must feel, that a person who wishes to recommend any institution or undertaking to general support and acceptance, ought to be careful lest he should seem unadvisedly to exaggerate its pretensions, or to put them in a false light. So I do not, on this occasion, — though I think the advantages to be derived from Mechanics' Institutes, and other similar enterprises, are very great and very various, — yet I do not affect to place them upon the same level as the observance of industry and honesty in the course of business; or, in the daily habit of our life, as the cultivation of domestic virtues, or household charities, or the all-comprehensive relations which subsist between man and his Creator. I should also think that person a very injudicious friend to Mechanics' Institutes who should pretend that, in your reading-rooms and lecture-rooms, the means were afforded of turning out your members as finished scholars, or ready-made philosophers, or of conferring those distinctions which must always be the reward of the midnight oil of the student, or the life-long researches of the experimentalist. But, if it be the object how to raise the toiling masses of our countrymen above the range of sordid cares and low desires — to enliven the weary toil and drudgery of life with the countless graces of literature, and the sparkling play of fancy, — to clothe the lessons of duty and of prudence in the most instructive as well as the most inviting forms, — to throw open to eyes, dull and bleared with the irksome monotony of their daily task-work, the rich resources and bountiful prodigalities of nature, — to dignify the present with the lessons of the past and the visions of the future, — to make the artisans of our crowded workshops and the inhabitants of our most sequestered villages alive to all that is going on in the big universe around them, and, amidst all the startling and repelling distinctions of our country, to place all upon the equal domain of intellect and of genius; — if these objects — and they are neither slight nor trivial — are worthy of acceptance and approval, I think that they can be satisfactorily attained by the means which Mechanics' Institutes place at your disposal; and it is upon grounds like these that I urge you to tender them your encouragement and support. Then, if

Mechanics' Institutes are entitled to general favour, — if institutions such as the Athenæum and the Mechanics' Institute of this place are a credit and an ornament to the district in which they are placed, it does not require any expression of argument to prove to you that such an institution as the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes must have a tendency to increase and diffuse the practical benefits for which the separate branches are designed; for it is the means of spreading, on every side, the most useful information, — of pointing out the best models, — of conducting to what are the most praiseworthy objects, and the most ready means of successfully prosecuting them. It enables the inhabitants of our smaller manufacturing villages to know what has been successfully effected in the great commercial emporiums of Sheffield and Leeds; it enables the farmers and yeomen of the Wolds to know what is achieved under the graceful towers of Beverley or around the crowded quays of Hull. I believe I am correct in the assertion that Yorkshire alone — that the district comprised in the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes, contains a greater number of those institutions than any other, with respect to its area and population, in the whole kingdom. I find that the total number of Mechanics' Institutions in the Yorkshire Union is 86, and the aggregate number of members 15,860. As might be expected, these institutions present to us a variety of features.

I think it almost unnecessary to explain the advantages of good lectures; but I may state that the accession of Howden to the Union is attributable to Mr. Child's lectures in that place. In the same manner, the exertions of Mr. Dunning have led to the accession of Market Weighton. I believe that the East Riding sub-union, in the most public-spirited manner, has seen the advantages of this method of providing instruction and amusement, and has hired a lecturer of its own. I am informed that in consequence of the facility and arrangements of the Yorkshire Union, the sum of 113*l*. has been saved by the respective institutions of which it is composed, by uniting in the engagement of well-qualified public lecturers, above what would have been paid by the separate institutions had they all separately engaged those lecturers. As might be expected, different modes of attraction have been resorted to. At Leeds, I believe, no money *whatever* is taken at the door for the lectures, but they find that *good lectures* so increase the members, that they have no need to resort to extraneous means of support. I believe I may con-

tulate this institution — at whose special invitation we are met in this place — upon mixing wholesome recreation with the severer studies of literature. The Hull Athenæum has a cricket club of its own. At Saddleworth, the ladies enter so much into the spirit of the institution that, I am informed, they write essays which are read by their friends, the members of the institute. Leeds and Wakefield add to the attractions of the library and the lecture-room others of the Muses, and give monthly concerts. Most important benefits have been found in some places to result from the classes formed for adults, who are immersed in various occupations during the entire day, but meet together in the evening for the acquisition of those elements of education which they have not, perhaps, had the opportunity of acquiring in their youth. In this way at Huddersfield, an institution has met with much success, and working men may command great facilities for education, for sixpence a fortnight. I believe at Leeds the same facilities were given; the same price was required, and, soon after the promulgation of the arrangement, there was an addition of two hundred members to the ranks of the institution. And I may now remark, which I do with sincere pleasure, that the London School of Design has consented to give elementary drawing-books to all the Mechanics' Institutes which enter into the arrangements they have prescribed for the same. Already, I understand, there are drawing-classes established in twenty-seven institutions, and that the number of pupils therein is 682; and I cannot close the list of these various efforts and attractions which are displayed in the last year's labours of the Union, without being reminded that the Mechanics' Institute at Ripon has opened a commodious building for the purpose of carrying on, with increased facility, the various operations of that society. I am happy to find that my friend, the Very Reverend the Dean of Ripon, is here with us to-night, to give us an account of the spirit in which it is supported by those people who are happy enough to live under his presidency. In bringing before you these various details, I must enjoin upon all those who are here present, and may represent their several localities, to do all that in them lies to foster this wholesome spirit of competition and generous rivalry. Let us do what we can to communicate this electric impulse over all the varied features of our county's geography; let us speed it from mountain to valley; from forge and factory to meadow and to plough-land; from the



manufacturing village that just lines the moor to the watering-place that enlivens the sea-board; from Scarborough to Saddleworth, from Wensleydale to the Spurn; and in inviting your contemplations to these wholesome exercises of effort and of progress, I cannot help asking you just to contrast these emulations and this success — not in the spirit of undue conceit or self-sufficiency, but to contrast them on account of the gratitude they ought to inspire for the benefits which they have brought upon this land, with the evils which now prevail over too great a portion of the Continent of Europe. I say this, not with the idea of infringing the wholesome rule which excludes any party politics from our festivities and public celebrations, but with reference to those more general politics which decide the destinies of our species: let me ask you just to consider, in contrast with your own condition, the general aspect of affairs as presented to us among so many tribes and kindreds of the great European Continent. Why you yourselves, at Hull, probably, can only bear but too faithful witness to the embarrassments, the inconveniences, and the losses, which result from the blockade of friendly seas, fitted and purposed to receive and to interchange the commerce of the world; you yourselves can tell by the return of disconsolate vessels, how much harm is being inflicted by the blockade of the Elbe; by shutting the Sound; by the insensate hostilities between Germany and Denmark. But there is hardly a community which is not too disastrously suffering from the heavings of these revolutionary whirlwinds and storms. The Russians are on the Danube, the French are on the Tiber. It really seems as if the nations of Europe, in some species of wild bacchanal, were seizing the torches of civil discord and of foreign war, and throwing them, in their furious glee, from frontier to frontier, from river to river, from rampart to rampart, and scaring all the peaceful haunts of industry with their uncouth dissonance and hideous glare. While such are the appalling sights and sounds of which we catch the reflection, and hear the echo, here in Yorkshire, here in England, while we abide in our accustomed occupations, and move on in our allotted spheres, under the broad and equal light of freedom, let it be our care to kindle the genial lamp of knowledge and to transmit it from hand to hand, from institute to institute, from wold to plain, from class to class, from the workshop to the cottage, over every portion of our land, till there shall be no dark corner unilluminated, till there shall be no haunt of obscene revel

unrebuked, till there shall be no abode of ignorance unenlightened, till there shall be no haunt of happy industry uncheered; and so, while we judge with all lowliness and humility of ourselves, we may become, in the judgment of the observing nations around us, and perhaps in the judgment of Him who judgeth not as man judgeth, a wise and understanding people.

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### YORKSHIRE UNION OF MECHANICS' INSTITUTES.

*Leeds, June, 1851.*

I HAVE sometimes felt inclined to remonstrate with my friends here for having led me to produce myself so frequently on these occasions, and, I may add, in this place. I might have thought that I had already inflicted enough in the way of lecture on the good people of Leeds, at least for some time to come; but I may be reminded that whatever may be my respect for them, this is not merely a town, or borough, or municipal meeting, but that it represents and constitutes an association which does not even confine itself to the boundaries of our wide West Riding, but enlarges its borders and stretches its stakes to the furthest limits of our entire county of York, and, I believe, even beyond it. With respect, too, to the time of our holding this assembly, it has been felt that this year of 1851, the first of this half-century, has, in many respects, been made a sort of Jubilee year, and that it behoves all good and laudable undertakings, and among them the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes, to put on their best countenances, and summon the greatest number of their friends, and in all ways make much of themselves, not, I trust, for the purposes of a braggart and garish vanity, but for the sake of recommending what we really look upon as commendable in itself, and as calculated for extensive usefulness, to the widest possible amount of support and of imitation. All reasons these, however, the more why an old stager like myself should seek to make no undue trespass on your attention, but bear in his mind that we happily have to-night some new faces, as well as old to encourage; some new voices, as well as old, to instruct us. The Yorkshire Mechanics' Union can, indeed, no longer be regarded as an experiment; it is no sickly plant, no doubtful shoot, no fragile stem we have to rear, but it shows a robust and hardy trunk, and justly prides itself in its *multitude of branches*; comprising as it does, I

believe, 117 institutions, and including within its branches, 20,000 members. No doubt the various delegates from the separate branches who have met to-day will have had the means of comparing the different methods and processes which have answered the best in the respective localities ; this I take to be a principal advantage of these annual concourses ; they afford an opportunity for comparison ; they supply a whet-stone for emulation, not for envy ; at the same time, I think it would be a mistake for each institution to consider itself bound to tread servilely in the track of every other ; it is with these bodies as it is with nations at large ; there will be a difference of circumstances, a difference of capabilities, a difference of humours. There are, of course, some broad rules and some obvious methods applicable to all ; but, in the adaptation of them, the convenience, and the tastes, and the wants of the respective communities may be taken into consideration. There can be no better rule, (you must excuse me if I still find the echoes of Pope lingering about this room,)—

“Consult the genius of the place in all.”

I naturally do not presume to enlarge upon details, which must have formed the subject of conference among the delegates this morning. A letter has been brought under my notice, written by Mr. Sikes, of Huddersfield, strongly urging the annexing of Savings' Banks to these institutions. Any step that would promote prudence and self-reliance is most deserving of consideration, but, as I have intimated, I consider any suggestion of this nature had better be left in the hands of those who have the practical management of the institutions. I have already adverted to the year 1851, and as there is extremely little I can say upon the general subject of Mechanics' Institutes which I have not, I fear but too often, before had opportunities of addressing to you, you will, I feel persuaded, make allowance for me, if, during the few minutes more I shall occupy of your time, I seek a variety from the ordinary topics of observation within that great Building, which some of you, I doubt not, have already seen, and all will have heard of, which gives to this year, 1851, now while it is gliding past us, and will probably give to it through all future time, its most distinguishing characteristic. Not that I am at all travelling out of the domain of Mechanics' Institutions when I refer to the *Exhibition of 1851*. Why say I this? Oh, enter for a moment *with me through one of its many portals*; stand under that lucid

arch of glass, at the part where the broad transept intersects the far-stretching nave, while the summer sun glistens, first on the fresh young green of our forest elms, then on the tapering foliage of the tropics, then on the pale marble of the statuary, then on the thousand changing hues of the world's merchandise. I most truly believe that, as a mere spectacle, it surpasses any which the labour, and art, and power of man ever yet displayed in any one spot. Look at that long alley of plate, the stalls of goldsmiths and silver-smiths; such a bright profusion was not spread out by Belshazzar when, amid the spoils of the Old Asia, he feasted his thousand lords. Examine the jewels and tissues of India, of Tunia, of Turkey; so dazzling an array was never piled behind the chariot of the Roman conqueror, when he led the long triumph up the hill of the Capitoline Jove;—observe the lustrous variety of porcelain, and tapestry, and silk, and bronze, and carving, which enters into the composition of furniture;—why Louis XIV. himself, could he be summoned from his grave, would confess that, although the French people had dethroned his dynasty, exiled his race, and obliterated that monarchy of which he was the special impersonation, they had carried all the arts of embellishment farther even than when he held his gorgeous court at Versailles. But I should not have obtruded these topics on an assembly like this, had I nothing to remark upon but the jewelled diadem, or the breathing brass, or the glistening marble, or the spangled brocade; these might only be fit adornments for the palaces of the great, or for the toilets of luxurious beauty; the title which the Crystal Palace of London has upon the suffrage of the judgment as well as the admiration of the eye, is, that it is the formal recognition of the value and dignity of labour—it is the throne and temple of industry;—industry and labour, in all their forms, as well as in all their climes, whether they are employed on the cheap gingham that makes up the wardrobe of the humblest cottager, or the richest lace that forms aprons for Queen or Cardinal—on the rude block from the quarry, and the hollow brick for model cottages, or the biggest diamond of the mine, the Mountain of Light itself; industry and labour, alike necessary to furnish their daily bread to the masses and the millions, and to embody in palpable form the brightest visions of poetry and art. Said I then wrong that this undertaking, thus intended and calculated to recognise and represent labour and industry, was *not removed* from the domain of 'Mechanics' Insti-

tutes? And when, further, I mark the space which is covered in this show-room of the world by the special industry of the West Riding of Yorkshire; when I recognise the banners which are suspended above the productions of your principal towns, with their, to me, most familiar devices—when I pass by, not without a sort of feeling of joint ownership—the woollens of Leeds, and stuffs of Bradford, and fancy goods of Huddersfield, and carpets of Halifax—(is their excellent and spirited manufacturer, Mr. Crossley, now among us?); and the hardware of Sheffield, and many other things from many other places, which I necessarily omit, to say nothing of all that wondrous, whirring machinery to which, among others, this town has contributed so conspicuously, I need offer no excuse for having connected the mechanics of Yorkshire with the Industrial Temple of 1851. One word of counsel to those who visit the Exhibition. It is divided, as you are probably aware, into two great sections, one belonging to our own empire, the other to the rest of the world. It had been anticipated, and it so turns out, that the British section shines most in what is solid, useful, practical, durable; in what is of most importance to the greatest numbers; while the Foreign section excels in brilliancy, in taste, in all that relates to decorative art; not that this line should be too rigidly drawn, for the Foreign division contains very much that is useful, and the British very much that is ornamental. What I would then earnestly advise every one, in his own branch of employment and skill, is, diligently to observe how, without foregoing what is valuable in his own workmanship, he can graft upon it whatever is attractive in that of others, and how, to the sterling home-bred qualities of use and durability, he may add the subtle charms of grace and beauty. This I would specially point out as an object of laudable ambition to your Schools of Design. And if I have ventured to offer one word of counsel to those who visit the Exhibition, let me conclude with one word of comfort to those whom circumstances may prevent from going there. Though I have described it justly as the most magnificent temple of industry, remember yet that the only worthy worship of industry must be carried on in the daily life and by the domestic hearth; this worship all have the power of rendering, and I can answer for it, there are two things more precious and bright even than any thing which is now displayed *in the Crystal Palace*,—the persevering energy of contented toil—*the sunny smile of an approving conscience.*

## MECHANICS' INSTITUTION.

*Lincoln, October, 1851.*

I have heard, ladies and gentlemen, that I have been named over the first resolution, which I find runs thus: — "That Mechanics' Institutions, having for their object the advancement of people in solid and useful education, deserve the support of all who are interested in the welfare of their common country." I find nothing in the terms of that resolution to justify my recommending it to your cordial acceptance.

But, in offering a few brief observations in support of it, I feel I ought to set out by making some sort of excuse to you for being here at all. It always seems to me upon such occasions to be present, that, except indeed in the neighbouring county of Lincoln, where I have got into the habit of doing as I am bid, I have no business to meddle with the concerns of other people. After all, it is not such a very long way across the Humber, on this occasion, I have acted under the special command of an excellent neighbour, the Earl of Yarborough. I know that he has performed the same good turn for the towns, I believe, both of Lincoln and of Sheffield; and I should be sorry to appear wanting in reciprocating any such neighbourly disposition. I feel, over and above all those local considerations, that the cause of Mechanics' Institutions is such as to justify any co-operation, no matter how inefficient the person, or however remote his residence.

I must not forget, too, that I am a member of the Yorkshire Association of Mechanics' Institutions, an association which we think, in this county, has been of very considerable use in fostering the progress of the institutions which are scattered within its borders. I understand that now for three or four years past the midland districts of our fair England have been desirous of being put under the same system of equal efficiency and energy, and I feel that I may be here once more as the representative of my old Yorkshire friends, to assure you that they heartily wish you success; and, if I am right in the feelings of those who have interested themselves in this cause, I am sure that they would hear of your complete success, even of your surpassing their own, with no other feeling than that of unalloyed satisfaction. And why should they not? *Lincoln is no longer under the Heptarchy.* The Humber, to

which I have already referred, and "the smug and silv Trent," as the world-wide poet (Shakspeare) calls it, no longer divides hostile and jealous regions. We may, it is true, so of us have our favourite boasts of what is to be found among ourselves. The Lincolnshire and Yorkshire wolds may contend with each other as to which are the best cultivated, without great danger of being surpassed by any other portion of the kingdom. Young Grimsby may flatter itself that it may one day rival old Hull, and the palm of beauty may reasonably be contended between the imposing masses of York Minster and the aspiring pinnacles of Lincoln Cathedral. But, as I have already hinted, the object which brings us together to-night is not a local one; it is scarcely a national one; it is a cosmopolitan one; for it is at the progress of mankind and the advance of our species. Therefore, addressing you Midlanders, I say you are quite welcome to beat us of Yorkshire, if you can. If you fall short of us, we shall be willing to teach; and if you excel us, we shall I trust, docile to learn. There is no place from which one of us is not to be content to pick up what is laudable and good. When we look at the aspect of the midnight heavens, we are not much struck with them when it is only a single star that twinkles athwart the gloom, but we most feel the beauty and the brightness, when all their boundless spaces are crowded with light, when the stars, which may singly exceed each other in glory, collectively serve to show and set forth each other.

And this, I feel that I do not vainly flatter myself, will be the spirit of mankind at large when the civilisation of our race has attained its full developement. It may not be the era of a city like Athens, which absorbed into a single community an amount of poetry, of eloquence, of philosophy, and of art, unparalleled before or since; it may not be the era of an empire like Rome, which rolled up into itself all the eminence of the world; it may not be an era merely of splendid patronage or of surpassing discoveries. No Shakspeare then may string the lyre, no Newton may measure the heavens; but it will be rather an era, when judicious enlightenment will pervade almost every community, and when liberal and refined accomplishments will distinguish almost every family. What I want you to feel, what I want you all, if any of you have not joined it, to join such an institution as this for, is to *you feel how much each of you singly may do to aid this great consummation.*

I know that the enemies of Mechanics' Institutes, and of popular institutions generally, have been apt to say that they have a tendency to make the mechanics and working men, whom especially they are intended to benefit, puffed up, presumptuous, conceited, and discontented. All I can say is, that if they do so, they fail singularly in their purpose, and fall far short of their aim. It appears to me that there are two principles upon which we must mainly rely for success in any attempts to raise and regenerate mankind. The one is to have a very high opinion of what we can do, the height to which we can soar, the advance in knowledge and in virtue which we may make,—that is, ambition as concerns our capacities. The other is to have a mean opinion of what we at any time know, or at any time have already done,—that is, humility as concerns our attainments. The ambition should be ever stirring us up to the even and steady development of righteous principles, and, where the opportunity presents itself, to the performance of noble, meritorious, and unselfish actions. The humility should ever keep in view that there is no sphere of life, however humble, no round of duties, however unexciting, which any of you may not enrich and elevate with qualities beside which the successes of statesmen and the triumphs of conquerors are but poor and vulgar. I believe there is no eminence to which man may not reach, but he must reach it by subordinating all unlawful impulses, and by subduing all mean ambitions. There is a general craving in the human mind for greatness and distinction. That greatness and distinction, I am thankful to think, is within the reach of any one to obtain; but the greatness and distinction must not be without you, but within you.

I should be sorry to appear to take this opportunity of preaching what might be called a sermon, but I feel so fervid an interest in the welfare and progress of the great body of my countrymen, that I cannot refrain from enjoining them, even while I would invite them to a full enjoyment of all the rich resources and all the innocent pleasures of this our variegated world, never to lose hold of religion. I do not mean that you should necessarily confine it within those stiff and narrow grooves in which some would imprison its ethereal spirit; but I feel assured that it is the source among mankind of all that is large and all that is lovely, and *that without it all would be dark and joyless. Under her sacred wing you may securely resign yourselves to all*



that is improving in knowledge, or instructing in science, or exalting in art, or beautiful in nature. The Architect of the Universe, the Author of Being, such as Christianity represents I cannot but approve of every creature that He has made developed to the utmost extent the faculties He has given him, and examine in all its depth and mystery, every work of His hand. Show the page of knowledge and the sources of enjoyment from multitude, because some have occasionally abused the blessed privilege! Why, the very same argument would consign every man and woman to a cloister, because the world and active life are of traps and pitfalls. No. Pre-eminent and supreme as I am convinced religion is, yet to make her so in the convictions of hearts of men, I feel she must discard all timidity, must follow every truth in the full blaze of light, and sympathise with every pursuit and every impulse of our race.

I have thus briefly shadowed forth the reasons why no person ought to frown upon Mechanics' Institutions. I do not wish to attribute to them any exaggerated or imaginary value; not hold them forth as singly containing the elements of improvement, which we should hope to regenerate modern society; but because I believe them calculated happily to chime in with existing wants and prevailing dispositions of the times, to afford opportunities for improvement and development in quarters where they would not otherwise be found, to promote innocent recreation and blameless amusements, and generally to assist the progress of mankind, that I thus venture to recommend them to your cordial sympathy and your active assistance.

## BURNLEY MECHANICS' INSTITUTE.

*November, 1851.*

### LADIES AND GENTLEMEN—

I thank you from my heart for the very generous reception which you have given to one who has yet certainly been a stranger to the town of Burnley. But you, sir, have just carried me into Yorkshire, and it is certainly true that, across the hills I rise just above your town, I have had many many opportunities of addressing audiences upon similar occasions in some of the valleys which, like your own, are distinguished alike by the beauties of their natural scenery and by the busy hum of the

And I feel that in coming before a Lancashire audience no longer living in the times, so eloquently adverted to by speaker, when the names of York and Lancaster signified factions and parties; but now, on the contrary, we are pier era, when either your red rose has paled, or our white blushed, into one common colour, and instead of contending causes or for opposing dynasties, we may now only cast among each other which has the most or the best supported and best conducted Mechanics' Institutions. I have had occasions heretofore, and very recent ones, of remarking the singular elasticity of these Mechanics' Institutions, their adaptation to the varied aspects of our society. A month ago, I attended at a similar meeting in the Lincoln, an old and picturesquely built town, the capital of that agricultural district in England; the towers of whose cathedral look down from their lofty perch upon a wide expanse of reclaimed fens and level corn fields: and among that rural population, under the shade of that old cathedral, a Mechanics' Institution has been established. And now I am in Burnley, one of that cluster of busy manufacturing communities, which stud this district of England, like a row of brazen knobs upon some old belt. It may be true that these are not surrounded with the halo of classical or romanisations. The names of Bolton, and Blackburn, and Bury, and Burnley, have not the imposing and picturesque character of Thebes, or Corinth, or Argos, in ancient Greece; Padua, or Mantua, or Verona, in modern Italy. But they possess at least this comparative advantage, they are not marching their inhabitants in trained bands to batter down each other's walls, and assault each other's citizens; their contention, if there is among them, is in the pursuits of a peaceful industry; and if they are at strife with each other, it is upon the field of honourable enterprise, where all the laurels which they can win serve both to crown themselves and to enrich the whole community. Now in a place and district like this, I consider a Mechanics' Institution to be a most appropriate appendage; and it is with great pleasure that I found myself enabled to participate in the auspicious proceedings of this morning. And as I say it is an appropriate appendage, I feel that I understate its value; it is a most desirable and almost indispensable one. I refer to the nature of the pursuits which are fol-

lowed here as being peaceful and useful and honourable, but at the same time we must not forget that primarily and in themselves they are conversant only with what is material and with the ways (to use a homely phrase) of making money; and that they might have a tendency, if unchecked and unbalanced by anything in an opposite direction, to engross and enchain some of the more delicate tastes, or the loftier aspirations of the human mind. Far be it from me, in Lancashire or anywhere else, to speak slightly of cotton; but you must feel that cotton and calico, though they make admirable stockings and other equally indispensable articles of clothing, yet do not in themselves furnish out the whole man. Now, I have observed that a most accomplished and able person, whom I may call a fellow lecturer of my own, Dr. Lyon Playfair, in an address he recently delivered, gave it as his opinion with respect to the modes of education pursued in this country, that in our schools and colleges enough attention has not been given to scientific instruction and regular industrial training. He complains that too much labour may have been bestowed on classical studies, on dead authors, on by-gone poets, and that the faculties have not been enough exercised on the open page of nature and the living wonders which are around and about and above and beneath us. Now, I think that he is probably in the right in this, but at the same time I am convinced that almost every prevailing direction, both of the individual mind and of society at large, ought occasionally to have administered to it something in the way of reaction and of corrective. It may be very well, in the quiet of academic bowers, that the dim cloisters of Oxford and the still shades of Cambridge, retaining, as I hope they ever will do, their old appropriate sources of learning, not ignoring (to use a modern phrase, which I might probably be told in those classic precincts was a barbarous one) the accustomed voices of their own Muses, should yet reflect more, as I believe they have begun to do, of the aspect of the century and the society in which they are placed. But on the other hand, in a district like this, where the pursuit of wealth is the habitual rule, where the recurring routine of labour is the daily life, where the steam engine and the power loom and mechanism and machinery seem to be the lords of time and space, of the body and of the mind, it is well too, that without neglecting, on the contrary while you are directly encouraging, those subjects of inquiry which are congenial to the place, while you are promoting the study of the law of nature and inquiring into the

properties of matter, at the same time the means of access should be given, and opportunities for a hearing at least, afforded, to the claims of general literature, the sober muse of history, the fervid accents of oratory, and the sublime inspirations of song. And just as it is the boast of our country, England, that it is the self-same country which produced her Newton, who has laid down the positive and ascertained laws of other worlds and other systems, and her Shakspeare, whose imagination peopled worlds almost as numerous, and quite as bright; just as those mingling characteristics still in some sort distinguish our countrymen, at once the most sober-minded and adventurous race which the world has known; so let it be the aim and glory of our own times, on the one hand, to make the study of the recluse and the vigil of the student still more available for the wants of the present day, and for obtaining a mastery over nature, still more useful, still more practical, than they have yet been; so, on the other hand, we should aim to throw around the dreary monotony of toil, and the plodding perseverance of labour, charms and graces which are not their own. And for these reasons I rejoice, again, that such an institution as has already existed here, it is now proposed to extend, to diffuse, to embody in a more worthy home; I rejoice to hear that it is proposed to combine with it lecture-rooms, classes for drawing and for music and for languages, together with a well assorted library; and that it is purposed not to be wanting in the graces of external architecture; and I trust that you will show yourselves alive to the occasion which opens itself thus before you, and that when the effort has been made, and the brick and mortar, — I beg your pardon, for I believe you have excellent stone of your own in Burnley, — when all this is brought together, and a goodly edifice is raised, you will show that it has the support of the inhabitants, and that the intelligence and mind which have to be developed within it will make the real glory of that building. I know that when I address you in Lancashire, I am among a community which has shown a great and growing interest in the cause of popular education in all its directions. Into the merits of any particular direction which that interest may assume, this is not the place or opportunity to enter. But I feel it a real triumph to think that the time has come when the education of the people must spread wide and strike deep, and I have faith that the wisdom and the public spirit of all classes in this country will be guided to give that impulse a right direction. Of a truth there is something

large and expansive in the bodies of men which in this portion of the country are brought together upon an occasion like the present. Why, in the very place \* in which we are assembled, in the very person † who laid the first stone of your new building, we have living and patent proof that there is nothing exclusive or repelling in the assistance and energy which are brought to bear upon it. And as I have referred to Mechanics' Institutions as comprising in their range the cathedral towers of Lincoln and the factories of Burnley, so I have seen to-day that they may unite in their service the oldest and most ancestral modes of faith, and the least fettered and least hierarchical forms. From my heart I join in the wish, which I feel sure will be entertained by all who have now been brought together, and which has already found an expression in the mouths of preceding speakers, that the Institution of which, amid so many demonstrations of good will and concord, the first stone has been laid this day, and of which we are now holding this commemorative assembly, may in its future development, never suffer those whom it may bring within its walls, or who may be partakers of its benefits, to derive any influence that is inconsistent with their duties as good citizens, good subjects, good men, good Christians — that they may under its roof find much to instruct, much to amuse, much to refine, much to elevate; — nothing to corrupt, nothing to sully, nothing to sap the wholesome foundation of morals or impair the sacred principles of religion; but that while they may continue to enjoy the opportunities it affords for useful instruction and for rational recreation, they may at the same time be imbibing lessons which shall stimulate and sweeten their daily toil, and make their own homes and firesides honest and happy.

\* The Independent Chapel.

† Charles Towneley, Esq. of Towneley.

THE END.

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# MORMONISM.



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# MORMONISM.

(E. REVIEW, 1854.)

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1. \**Patriarchal Order, or Plurality of Wives*. By ORSON SPENCER, Chancellor of the University of Deseret. Liverpool: 1853.
2. *The Seer*. Edited by ORSON PRATT. Vol. I. From January 1853 to December 1853. Washington: 1853.
3. *Reports of the Scandinavian, Italian, and Prussian Missions of the Latter Day Saints*. Liverpool: 1853.
4. *Millennial Star* [the Weekly Organ of Mormonism], vols. *XIV. and XV.*, from January 1852 to December 1853. Liverpool: 1852 and 1853.
5. *History of the Mormons*. By Lieutenant GUNNISON. Philadelphia: 1852.
6. *Survey of Utah*. By Captain STANSBURY. Philadelphia: 1852.
7. *The Mormons. Illustrated by Forty Engravings*. London, 1852.
8. *Letters on the Doctrines*. By O. SPENCER. London: 1852.
9. *Hymns of Latter Day Saints*. London: 1851.
10. *The Mormons*. By THOMAS KANE. Philadelphia: 1850.
11. *A Bill to establish a Territorial Government for Utah*. Washington: 1850.
12. *Exposé of Mormonism*. By JOHN BENNETT. Boston: 1842.
13. *Doctrines and Covenants of Latter Day Saints*. Nauvoo: 1846.
14. *The Book of Mormon*. Palmyra: 1830.

\* To save time and space we shall refer to these works as follows: to (1) as *P. O.*; to (2) as *Seer*; to (4) as *XIV.* or *XV.*; to (5) as *G.*; to (6.) as *S.*; to (7.) as *M. Illust.*; to (8.) as *Spencer*; to (9.) as *Hymns*; to (10.) as *Kane*; to (13.) as *D. C.*; and to (14.) as *Mormon*.

THE readers of Southey's "Doctor" must remember the quaint passage in which he affects to predict that his book will become the Scripture of a future Faith; that it will be "dug up among the ruins of London, and considered as one of the sacred books of the sacred island of the West; and give birth to a new religion, called *Dover*, or *Danielism*, which may have its chapels, churches, cathedrals, abbeys; its synods, consistories, convocations, and councils; its acolytes, sacristans, deacons, priests, prebendaries, canons, deans, bishops, arch-bishops, cardinals, and popes. . . . Its *High-Dovers* and *Low-Dovers*, its *Danielites* of a thousand unimagined and unimaginable denominations; its schisms, heresies, seditions, persecutions, and wars." Many must have felt, when they read this grotesque extravaganza, that it almost overstepped the boundary which separates fun from nonsense. Yet its wild imagination has been more than realised by recent facts. While Southey was writing it at Keswick, a manuscript was lying neglected on the dusty shelves of a farmhouse in New England, which was fated to attain more than the honours which he playfully imagines as the future portion of his "Daniel Dove."

The book destined to so singular an apotheosis, was the production of one Solomon Spalding, a Presbyterian preacher in America; of whose history we only know that, like so many others of his class and country, he had abandoned theology for trade, and had subsequently failed in business. Nor can we wonder, judging from

the only extant specimen of his talents, that he should have been thus unfortunate both in the pulpit and at the counter. After his double failure the luckless man, who imagined (according to his widow's statement) that he had "a literary taste," thought to redeem his shattered fortunes by the composition of an historical romance. The subject which he chose was the history of the North American Indians; and the work which he produced was a chronicle of their wars and migrations. They were described as descendants of the patriarch Joseph, and their fortunes were traced for upwards of a thousand years, from the reign of Zedekiah, king of Judah, down to the fifth century of the Christian era. This narrative purported to be a record buried in the earth by Mormon, its last compiler, and was entitled "The Manuscript Found." A manuscript, indeed, it seemed likely to remain. Its author vainly endeavoured to persuade the booksellers to undertake the risk of its publication. Nor does their refusal surprise us; for we do not remember, among all the ponderous folios which human dulness has produced, any other book of such unmitigated stupidity. It seems inconceivable how any man could patiently sit down, day after day, to weary himself with writing sheet after sheet of such sleep-compelling nonsense. Its length is interminable, amounting to above five hundred closely printed octavo pages. Yet, from the first to the last, though professing to be composed by different authors, under various circumstances, during a period of a thousand years, it is perfectly uniform in style, and maintains the dryness with-

out the brevity of a chronological table. Not a spark of imagination or invention enlivens the weary sameness of the annalist; no incidental pictures of life or manners give colour or relief to the narrative. The only thing which breaks the prosaic monotony is the insertion of occasional passages from Scripture; and these are so clumsily brought in, that they would seem purposely introduced to show by contrast the worthlessness of the foil in which they are imbedded. Nor is dullness the only literary offence committed by the writer of the book of Mormon. It is impossible to read three pages of it without stumbling on some gross violation of grammar, such as the following:—"O ye wicked ones, hide *thee* in the dust." "It all *were* vain." "We had *somewhat contentions*." "I should have *wore* these bands." "Why persecuteth *thou* the Church?" "He has *fell*." "The promises *hath* been." "Our sufferings *doth* exceed." "All things which *is* expedient." These blunders are so uniformly interspersed throughout the work, that they must be ascribed to its author, and not (as they have sometimes\* been) to a subsequent interpolator. Yet this worthless book, which its writer could not even get printed in his lifetime, is now stereotyped in the chief languages of Europe, and

\* This hypothesis has been resorted to because people cannot understand how an educated teacher of religion should be capable of such blunders. But in America the literary qualifications for ordination are necessarily reduced to a minimum. In our researches among the Mormonite authors, we have found several examples of *ci-devan* "Ministers," who not merely write bad grammar, but cannot even spell correctly.

is regarded by proselytes in every quarter of the globe as a revelation from heaven.

This extraordinary change of fortune was brought about by the successful roguery of a young American named Joseph Smith, the son of a small farmer in Vermont. From an early age this youth had amused himself by practising on the credulity of his simpler neighbours. When he was a boy of fourteen, there occurred in the town of Palmyra, where he then lived, one of those periods of religious excitement which are called in America *Revivals*. The fervour and enthusiasm which attends these occurrences often produces good effects. Many excellent men have traced the sincere piety which has distinguished them through life, to such an origin. But there is a danger that the genuine enthusiasm of some should provoke hypocrisy in others. So it happened on this occasion in Palmyra. Half the inhabitants were absorbed in the most animated discussion of their deepest religious feelings. Any extraordinary "experience" was sure to attract the eagerest interest. Under these circumstances, young Joseph amused himself by falling in with the prevailing current, and fixing the attention of his pious friends upon himself, by an "experience" more wonderful than any of theirs. He gave out that while engaged in fervent prayer, he had been favoured with a miraculous vision. "I saw," says he, "a pillar of light above the brightness of the sun, which descended gradually upon me. It no sooner appeared, than I found myself delivered from the enemy which held me bound. When the light



rested upon me, I saw two personages whose brightness and glory defy all description, standing above me in the air." He goes on in his "Autobiography" (from which we quote) to say, that these heavenly messengers declared all existing Christian sects in error, and forbade him to join any of them. This statement, however, was no doubt an afterthought. At the time, he probably only proclaimed that his "deliverance from the enemy" had been effected by a supernatural appearance.

Such precocious hypocrisy, however painful, is no extraordinary phenomenon. Probably every outburst of kindred excitement develops some similar instance of childish imposture. Examples will occur to those who are familiar with the early history of Methodism. And we remember lately to have seen a narrative published by a believer in the "Irvingite" miracles, detailing a case where a boy of only seven years old pretended to inspiration, and kept up the farce for many weeks, duping all the while his infatuated parents, and having the impudence seriously to rebuke his old grandfather for unbelief. Children are flattered by the notice which they excite by such pretensions; and, if the credulity of their elders gives them encouragement, are easily tempted to go on from lie to lie. For there is perhaps no period of life more sensible than childhood to the delights of notoriety.

It was, probably, only a desire for this kind of distinction which originally led Joseph Smith to invent his vision. At first, however, he did not meet with the success which he expected. On the contrary, he complains

that the story "had excited a great deal of prejudice against him among professors of religion," and that it drew "persecution" upon him. We may suppose that his character for mendacity was already so well known in his own neighbourhood as to discredit his assertions. At all events, he seems thenceforward to have laid aside, till a later period, the part of a religious impostor, and to have betaken himself to less impious methods of cheating. For some years he led a vagabond life, about which little is known, except that he was called "Joe Smith the Money-digger," and that he swindled several simpletons by his pretended skill in the use of the divining-rod. In short, he was a Yankee *Dousterswivel*. Among the shrewd New-Englanders one would have thought such pretensions unlikely to be profitable. But it seems there were legends current of the buried wealth of bucaniers, and Dutch farmers possessing the requisite amount of gullibility; and on this capital our hero traded.

His gains, however, were but small; and he was struggling with poverty, when at last he lighted on a vein of genuine metal, which, during the remainder of his life, he continued to work with ever-growing profit. This was no other than the rejected and forgotten manuscript of poor Solomon Spalding, which had either been purloined by Smith's associate, Sidney Rigdon, (who had been employed in a printing-office where it was once deposited), or had been stolen out of the trunk of Mrs. Spalding, who lived about this time in the neighbourhood of Smith's father. In one way or

another, it fell into Joseph's hands about twelve years after its author's death. The manuscript, as we have said, purported to have been buried by Mormon, its original compiler.\* This easily suggested to the imagination of Smith, already full of treasure-trove, the notion of pretending that he had dug it up. At first, however, he seems to have intended nothing more than to hoax the members of his own family. He told them that an angel had revealed to him a bundle of golden plates, engraved with mysterious characters, but had forbidden him to shew them to others. His hearers (to his surprise, apparently) seemed inclined to believe his story; and he remarked to a neighbour (whose deposition is published), that he "had fixed the fools, and would have some fun." But it soon occurred to him that his fabrication might furnish what he valued more than "fun." He improved upon his first story of the discovery, by adding, that the angel had also shown him, together with the plates, "two stones in silver bows, fastened to a breastplate, which constituted what is called the *Urim and Thummim*. . . . The possession and use of which constituted *Seers* in ancient times, and God had prepared them for the purpose of translating the book."—(*Smith's Autobiography*, XIV.) Furnished with this mysterious apparatus, he was commanded to

\* The proofs that the "Book of Mormon," published by Smith, is identical with Spalding's "Manuscript Found," are conclusive. The identity is asserted in the depositions of Spalding's widow, of Spalding's brother, and of Spalding's partner, Henry Lake, the two latter of whom swear to their acquaintance with Spalding's manuscript—(See *Bennett*, 115.)

translate and publish these divine records. He might reasonably expect that the publication of Spalding's Manuscript, garnished with this miraculous story, would prove a profitable speculation: just as the unsaleable reams of "Drelincourt on Death" were transmuted into a lucrative copyright by the ghost-story of De Foe. On the strength of these expectations, he obtained advances of money from a farmer named Martin Harris.\* Concerning this man, as concerning most of the early associates of Smith, we must remain in doubt whether he were a dupe or an accomplice. His cupidity was interested in the success of the "Book of Mormon," and therefore he may be suspected of deceit. On the other hand, he did not reap the profit he expected from the publication, which, as a bookselling speculation, was at first unsuccessful; and he was ruined by the advances he had made. Ultimately, he renounced his faith (real or pretended) in Joseph, who, in revenge, abused him in the newspapers as "a white-skinned negro," and a "lackey!"—(*M. Illust.* 34.) This looks as if he had been a dupe, and not in possession of any dangerous secrets. It is certain that he consulted Professor

\* "Our translation drawing to a close," says Smith, "we went to Palmyra, secured the copyright, and agreed with Mr. Grandon to print 5000 copies for the sum of 3000 dollars."—(*Autob. XIV.*) This sum was supplied by Harris, in accordance with a "revelation" delivered in March, 1830, as follows:—"I command thee that thou shalt not covet thine own property, but impart it freely to the printing of the 'Book of Mormon.' . . . Impart a portion of thy property, yea even part of thy lands. . . . Pay the debt thou hast contracted with the printer."—(*D. C.* sec. 44.)

Anthon at New York on the subject of the mysterious plates; and that he showed the Professor a specimen of the engravings, which Mr. Anthon describes: "evidently prepared by some one who had before him a book containing various alphabets, Greek and Hebrew letters, &c.; the whole ending in a rude delineation of a circle decked with strange marks; and evidently copied after the Mexican Calendar given by Humboldt." \* Harris also stated his intention of selling his farm, to provide funds for the translation and publication of these plates. The Professor vainly remonstrated regarding him as the victim of roguery. Not long after, early in 1830, the Book of Mormon was published, and Harris was employed in hawking it about for sale. He also signed a certificate, which is prefixed to the book wherein he joins with two other witnesses in testifying the authenticity of the revelation, as follows:—"We declare with words of soberness, that an angel of God came down from heaven, and he brought and laid before our eyes [*sic*] that we beheld and saw the plates and the engravings thereon." Eight other witnesses also testify that they had seen the plates, but without the angel. If we are not to consider all these as accomplices in the fraud, we must suppose that Smith had got some brass plates made, and had scratched the characters over with figures. No one else was allowed to see them; and Joseph informs us, that after he had "accomplished by them what was required at his hand . . . . *according to arrangements the messenger call-*

\* Mr. Anthon's letter to Mr. Howe, Feb. 17, 1834.

*for them, and he [the angel] has them in his charge until this day.*"—(*Autob. XIV.*)

Although the sale of the "Book of Mormon" did not originally repay the cost of publication, yet it made a few converts. It was very soon "revealed" that these proselytes were bound to consecrate their property to the support of Joseph. Thus we find in a revelation of February, 1831 :—"It is meet that my servant, Joseph Smith, Junior, should have a house built in which to live and translate."—(*D. C. sec. 13.*) And again :—"If ye desire the mysteries of my kingdom, provide for him food and raiment, and whatsoever thing he needeth."—(*D. C. sec. 14.*) And his love for idleness was gratified by a revelation which commanded it :—"In temporal labours thou shalt not have strength, for that is not thy calling."—(*D. C. sec. 9.*) A singular announcement to be made by a prophet who soon after became the manager of a Bank, partner in a commercial house, Mayor of Nauvoo, General of Militia, and a candidate for the Presidency of the United States.

We see, however, from these revelations (which were all given within twelve months from the publication of the book) that the imposture had already expanded beyond its original dimensions in the mind of its author. At first, he only claims to have miraculously discovered a sacred record, but does not himself pretend to inspiration. Soon, however, he proclaims that he is a prophet divinely commissioned to introduce a new dispensation of religion. And in April, 1830, he receives a revelation establishing him in that character, and commanding

the "Church" to "give heed unto all his words and commandments."—(*D. C.* sec. 46.) At the same time it is announced that all existing sects are in sinful error and their members are required to seek admittance by baptism into the new church of Joseph Smith. In accordance with this revelation, he proceeded to "organize the Church of *Latter Day Saints*." He and his earliest accomplice, Cowdery, baptized one another; and in the course of the month they baptized twenty or thirty other persons, including Smith's father and two brothers, who from the first, took a profitable share in the imposture.

In the same year, the new sect was openly joined by one of its most important members, Sidney Rigdon, who had perhaps been previously leagued with Smith in secret.\* This man had been successively a printer and a preacher; and in the latter capacity he had belonged to several denominations. It is but too evident, from the impure practices of which he was afterwards convicted at Nauvoo, that he was influenced by none but the most sordid motives in allying himself to the Mormonites. He was one of those adventurers not uncommon in America, who are preachers this year and publicans the next, hiring alternately a tabernacle or a tavern. In point of education, however, Rigdon though far from learned, was superior to his vulgar and ignorant associates. It was therefore revealed that he should take the literary business of the new partnership—(*D. C.* sec. 11.) Accordingly, the earlier portion of the

\* *I. e.*, if we suppose that Rigdon was the person who had conveyed Spalding's MS. to Smith.

"Doctrines and Covenants" (the Mormonite New Testament) was composed by him; and he thus became the theological founder of the sect, so far as it had at that time any distinctive creed. For the "Book of Mormon" itself contains no novel dogmas, nor any statements which would be considered heretical by the majority of Protestants, except the condemnation of infant baptism, and the assertion of the perpetuity of miraculous gifts.\* Smith had apparently left the work of Spalding unaltered, except by interpolating a few words on this latter subject, which were necessary to support his own supernatural stories. But Rigdon encouraged

\* It is a curious fact that the English Irvingites, who also hold the latter doctrine, sent a deputation with a letter, not long after the publication of the "Book of Mormon," to express their sympathy with Joseph Smith. The letter professes to emanate from a Council of "Pastors."—(XV. 260.) It begins as follows:—"Dear brethren in the Lord.—At a council of the pastors of the church, held March 23, 1835, upon the propriety of the Rev. John Hewitt visiting you, it was resolved that \* \* \* he should have, as he desired, the sanction of the council." The letter proceeds to express sympathy in the Mormonite movement, and is signed "Thomas Shaw, Barnsley, April 21, 1835."

[Since the first publication of this note, we have received several letters from correspondents who belong to the (so called) "Irvingite" sect, all of whom express their belief that the above-mentioned letter was forged by John Hewitt. One gentleman (who signs himself W. R. Caird) asserts, that Mr. Hewitt was believed by the late Mr. Irving to have been guilty of forging letters of recommendation from America; and he further asserts that there never was any Irvingite church at Barnsley.

No proofs have been furnished to us in support of these assertions; and there is certainly no internal evidence of forgery in the letter presented by John Hewitt to Joseph Smith. At the same time, we think it right to mention that its authenticity is now denied by several members of the sect from which it professed to emanate.]



him to take a bolder flight. \_He announced the materialistic doctrines which have since been characteristic of the Sect; he departed from the orthodox Trinitarianism which had been adopted in the "Book of Mormon;"\* and to him may be probably attributed the introduction of baptism for the dead. Moreover, under his influence the constitution of the Mormonite Church was remodelled. Joseph had begun by adopting the ordinary Presbyterian divisions; but now a more complex organisation was introduced, and it was revealed that the true Church must necessarily possess all those officers who existed in the primitive epoch—Apostles, Prophets, Patriarchs, Evangelists, Elders, Deacons, Pastors, Teachers; besides a twofold hierarchy of Priests, called by the respective names of Aaron and Melchisedek. The object of this change was to give an official position to every active and serviceable adherent, and to establish a compact subordination throughout the whole body; an object in which no religious society except that of the Jesuits has more completely succeeded.

While rendering such services to his new associates Rigdon did not neglect his private interests. He immediately obtained the second place in rank; and after a short time he compelled his accomplice to receive revelation which raised him to equality with the Prophet.—(*D. C.* sec. 85.) He was thus enabled to claim

\* "Q. How many personages are there in the Godhead?—*Answer*—Two."—(*D. C.* p. 47.)

his fair share in the spoil of dupes whom he so largely contributed to deceive.

Under these new auspices the Sect made rapid progress. But while Joseph continued in the district where his youth was spent, there were many stumbling-blocks in his path. The indignation of his neighbours was naturally roused by the successful frauds of a man whom they had despised as a cheat and liar from his cradle. He vainly endeavoured to disarm such feelings, by candidly avowing his past iniquities; those who had known him from boyhood were not easily persuaded to believe in his repentance. And since, in America, there is but a short step from popular anger to popular violence, it was his obvious policy to withdraw before the storm should burst. Rigdon had already made numerous converts in Kirtland, a town of Ohio; and a nucleus was thus formed to which new proselytes might be gathered in sufficient numbers to defend their master and themselves. Hither, therefore, Joseph removed, early in 1831. But though Kirtland was for some years the centre of his operations, yet he never intended to make it his permanent abode. He already perceived, that to avail himself fully of the advantages of his position, he must assemble his disciples in a commonwealth of their own, where no unbeliever should intrude to dispute his supremacy. This was impossible in the older States of the Union, but it appeared quite practicable on the Western frontier. There land could be bought for next to nothing, in a territory almost uninhabited; and it might be reasonably presumed that

a few thousand converts once established, and constantly reinforced by the influx of new proselytes, might maintain themselves against any attack which was likely to be made upon them. Acting on these views Smith and Rigdon, after a tour of inspection, selected a site on the borders of the wilderness, which was recommended by richness of soil and facilities of water carriage. Joseph immediately put forth a string of revelations, which declared that "Zion" was in Jackson county, Missouri, and commanded all the "Saints" to purchase land at the sacred spot, and hasten to take possession of their inheritance.—(*D. C. sec. 66 to sec. 73.*)

Within a few months no less than twelve hundred had obeyed the call, and employed themselves with all the energy of American backwoodsmen in cultivating the soil of the new Jerusalem. These converts were mostly from the Eastern States, and seem to have been, in habits and character, superior to the common run of squatters. Colonel Kane, who visited them at a late period, contrasts them favourably as "persons of refined and cleanly habits and decent language" with the other "border inhabitants of Missouri—the vile scum which our society, like the great ocean, washes upon its frontier shores." They seem to have consisted principally of small farmers, together with such tradesmen and mechanics as are required by an agricultural colony. Nor were they without considerable shrewdness and intelligence in secular matters, however inconsistent we may think their credulity with common

sense. By their axes and their ploughs, the forest soon was turned into a fruitful field; their meadows were filled with kine, and their barns with sheaves. Unfortunately for themselves, they did not unite prudence with their industry. They were too enthusiastically certain of their triumph, to temporize or conciliate. Their prophet had declared that Zion should be established, and should put down her enemies under her feet. Why, then, should they hesitate to proclaim their anticipations? They boasted openly that they should soon possess the whole country, and that the unbelievers should be rooted out from the land. These boasts excited the greatest indignation, not unaccompanied by some fear; for the old settlers saw the number of their new neighbours increasing weekly, and knew that their compact organisation gave them a power more than proportionate to their numerical strength. Legally, however, there were no means of preventing these strangers from accomplishing their intentions. For every citizen of the Union had an undoubted right to buy land in Jackson County, and to believe that Joseph Smith, Junior, was a prophet. But in America, when the members of a local majority have made up their minds that a certain course is agreeable to their interests or their passions, the fact that it is illegal seldom prevents its adoption. The Jacksonians knew that they had at present a majority over the Mormonites, and they resolved to avail themselves of this advantage before it was too late, lest, in their turn, they should be outnumbered, and thereby be liable to those

pains and penalties which are the portion of a minority in the Great Republic. The citizens of the county therefore convened a public meeting, wherein they agreed upon the following (among other) resolutions :—

“ *That* no Mormon shall in future move and settle in this country.

“ *That* those now here who shall give a pledge within a reasonable time to remove out of the country, shall be allowed to remain unmolested until they have sufficient time to sell their property.

“ *That* the editor of ‘The Star’ (the Mormon paper) be required forthwith to discontinue the business of printing in this country.

“ *That* those who fail to comply with these requirements, be referred to their brethren who have the gift of divination and unknown tongues to inform them of the lot that awaits them.”

These resolutions were at once communicated to the Mormon leaders; but, as they did not immediately submit, the meeting unanimously resolved to raze to the ground the office of the obnoxious newspaper. The resolution was forthwith carried into effect, and the Mormon “Bishop” (a creature of Smith’s, who presided in his absence) was tarred and feathered,—an appropriate punishment enough, which had also been administered to his master, not long before, by a mob in Ohio.

Notwithstanding these hostile demonstrations, the Mormons could not bring themselves to leave the newly-purchased lands without resistance. They

pealed to the legal tribunals for redress, and organized a militia, which maintained for some time a guerilla warfare against their antagonists. At length, however, they were overpowered by numbers, and abandoned their beloved Zion. But most of them found refuge in the adjoining counties, where they gradually acquired fresh property, and continued for four years in tranquillity.

Meanwhile their prophet had remained snugly established at Kirtland, which he wisely judged a more desirable home than the wild land of Zion, till the latter should be comfortably colonised by his adherents. Hence he sent out his "apostles" and "elders" in all directions to make proselytes, which they continued to do with great success. The first duty imposed on all converts was the payment of *tithing* to the "Church."—(*D. C. sec. 107.*) And those who received the commands of Joseph as the voice of God, did not hesitate to furnish this conclusive proof of the reality of their faith. On the strength of the capital thus placed at his disposal, Smith established at Kirtland a mercantile house and a bank. We find from his autobiography, that the whole Smith family were at liberty to draw without stint from the common stock; and their ill-gotten gains were squandered as recklessly as might have been expected. Embarrassment ensued, and several revelations called upon the saints for money to prop the Prophet's credit.\* At length the crash came. The firm failed, the bank stopped payment, and the

\* See "Smith's Autobiography," under date of March, 1834.

managers were threatened with a prosecution for swindling. To escape the sheriff's writ, Smith and Rigdon were obliged to fly by night; and they took refuge among their followers in Missouri.

This occurred in the autumn of 1837, four years after the expulsion of the saints from Zion. That expulsion had painfully falsified the prophecies of Smith, who had so completely committed himself to the successful establishment of his people in the spot which he had first chosen, that he did not acquiesce in their abandonment of it without a struggle. In February, 1834, soon after their ejection, he had promised their immediate restoration in the following revelation:—  
 “Verily I say unto you, I have decreed that your brethren that have been scattered shall return . . . Behold the redemption of Zion must needs come by power. Therefore I will raise up unto my people a man who shall lead them, like as Moses led the children of Israel. . . . Verily I say unto you, that my servant Baurak Ale is the man . . . Therefore let my servant Baurak Ale say unto the strength of my house, my young men and the middle-aged, gather yourselves together unto the land of Zion. . . . And let all the churches send up wise men with their monies, and purchase land as I have commanded them. And, inasmuch as mine enemies come against you, to drive you from my goodly land which I have consecrated to be the land of Zion, . . . ye shall curse them; and whomsoever ye curse I will curse. . . . It is my will that my servant Parley Pratt, and my

servant Lyman Wight, should not return until they have obtained companies to go up unto the land of Zion, by tens, or by twenties, or by fifties, or by an hundred, until they have obtained to the number of five hundred, of the strength of my house. Behold this is my will; but men do not always do my will; therefore, if you cannot obtain five hundred, seek diligently that peradventure you may obtain three hundred, and if ye cannot obtain three hundred, seek diligently that peradventure ye may obtain one hundred." —(*D. C. sec. 101.*)

By such efforts a volunteer force of 150 men had been raised, and had marched from Kirtland in June 1834, to reinstate the saints in their inheritance.\* Joseph also, who, to do him justice, seems not to have lacked physical courage, had marched at their head; though why he superseded "Baurak Ale," the divinely-appointed Moses of the host, we are not informed. The little force had safely reached their brethren in Missouri; but the Prophet, finding they were not strong enough to effect their purpose, had disbanded them without fighting, and had himself returned to Kirtland, where he had remained till the commercial crisis which we have just mentioned.

When thus finally driven to take refuge among his followers, Smith found them in a very critical position. Four years had passed since their expulsion from Zion, and they had established themselves in greater numbers than before, in the counties bordering on that whence

\* See *M. Star*, *XV.* 69, 205.



they had been driven. They had cultivated the soil with perseverance and success, were daily increasing in wealth, and had built two towns (or *cities*, as they called them) *Diahman* and *Far-west*. But their prudence had not grown with their prosperity. They thought themselves a match for their enemies, and fearlessly provoked them by repeating their former boasts. The Prophet's arrival added fuel to the flame. The disgraceful failure of his prophecies still rankled in his mind. He declared publicly among his disciples, that "he would yet tread down his enemies, and trample on their dead bodies;" and that, "like Mahomet, whose motto was *the Koran or the sword*, so should it be eventually, *Joseph Smith or the sword*."\* These and similar facts were disclosed to the Missourians by apostate Mormons, and excited great exasperation. At length a collision occurred at a county election, and open warfare began. For some weeks the contest was maintained on equal terms, and both parties burnt and destroyed the property of their antagonists with no decisive result. But, finally, the Governor of Missouri called out the militia of the State, nominally to enforce order, but really to exterminate the Mormons. They were unable to resist the overwhelming force brought against them, and surrendered almost at discretion, as

\* The above statements are in an affidavit (given in "*Mormonism Illustrated*") made in October 1838, and countersigned by Orson Hyde, who is now the chairman of the Apostolic College. Whether he was then a renegade, who has since repented; or whether he made these confessions under compulsion, we have no information.

appears from the following terms which they accepted: First, To deliver up their leaders for trial; secondly, To lay down their arms; thirdly, To sign over their properties, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; and lastly, To leave the State forthwith. The spirit in which this last condition was enforced will appear from the conclusion of an address delivered to the Mormons by General Clark, the commander of the hostile forces:—"Another thing yet remains for you to comply with—that you leave the State forthwith. Whatever your feelings concerning this affair; whatever your innocence; it is nothing to me. The orders of the governor to me were that you should be *exterminated*; and had your leader not been given up, and the treaty complied with, *before this you and your families would have been destroyed, and your houses in ashes.*"

The results of this contest seemed likely to be fatal to the Prophet, who was given up to the State authorities, to be tried on charges of treason, murder, and felony, arising out of the war. But he contrived to escape from his guards, and thus avoided, for a time, the justice of a border jury. He fled to Illinois, where he found the remnant of his persecuted proselytes, who had been compelled to cross the bleak prairies, exposed to the snow-storms of November, with no other shelter than their waggons for sick and wounded, women and children: 12,000 of these exiles crossed the Mississippi, which separates the States of Missouri and Illinois. By the citizens of the latter they were received with

compassionate hospitality, and relieved with gifts of food and clothing.

In a wonderfully short time the sect displayed once more its inherent vitality, and that strength which springs from firm union and voluntary obedience. Soon its numbers were increased by the arrival of proselytes to 15,000 souls. For the third time they gathered themselves together in a new settlement, and built the town of Nauvoo, in a strong position on the banks of the Mississippi, which nearly surrounds the peninsula selected for their capital. In eighteen months the city contained 2000 houses. The prairies were changed into corn-fields, the hills covered with flocks and herds, and steamers landed merchandise and colonists upon wharves which had superseded the aboriginal marsh. Here the Mormonites seemed at last securely established in a commonwealth of their own, and Joseph was permitted, for five years, to enjoy the rich fruits of his imposture undisturbed. The wealth at his disposal was continually increasing, both from the tithing of his old converts (which augmented with their growing property), and from the contributions of new proselytes. These were now flowing in, not only from the United States, but even from Europe. In 1837, a mission had been sent to England, and the Mormon apostles baptized 10,000 British subjects before the Prophet's death. New revelations summoned all these converts to Nauvoo, bringing with them "their gold, their silver, and their precious stones."—(*D. C.* sec. 103.) A mansion-

ouse was begun, where the Prophet and his family are to be lodged and maintained at the public cost. Let it be built in my name, and let my servant Joseph and his house have place therein from generation to generation, saith the Lord ; and let the name of the house be called the Nauvoo House, and let it be a delightful habitation for man.”—(*D. C.* sec. 103.) But, while thus providing for his own comfort, Joseph was careful to divert the attention of his followers from his private gains by a public object of expenditure, which might seem to absorb the revenues under his charge. As he had before done at Kirtland, so now at Nauvoo, he began the building of a temple. But this was to be on a far grander scale than the former edifice, and was to be consecrated by the most awful ceremonies. For here alone (so it was revealed) could the rite of baptism for the dead be efficaciously performed.—(*D. C.* sec. 103.) The foundation of this temple was laid with military and civil pomp early in 1841.

Meanwhile the State of Illinois had granted a charter of incorporation to the city of Nauvoo, and Joseph Smith was elected Mayor. Moreover, the citizens capable of bearing arms were formed into a well-organized militia, to which weapons were supplied by the State. This body of troops, which was called the *Nauvoo Legion*, was perpetually drilled by the Prophet, who had been appointed its commander, and who thenceforward adopted the style and title of “General Smith.” On all public occasions it was his delight to appear on horseback in full uniform at the head of his little army,

which consisted of about 4000 men,\* and was in state of great efficiency. An officer who saw it reviewed in 1842, says of it, "Its evolutions would do honour to any body of armed militia in the States, and approximate very closely to our regular forces."—(*M. Illust.* 115) The "Inspector-General" of the legion was a General Bennett, who had served in the United States' army. His correspondence with Joseph is one of the most curious illustrations of the Prophet's character. Bennett offers his services in a letter wherein he avows entire disbelief in Smith's religious pretensions, but, at the same time, declares himself willing to assume the outward appearance of belief. He had gone so far as to submit to Mormon baptism, which he calls "a glorious frolic in the clear blue ocean, with your worthy friend Brigham Young."

"Nothing of this kind," (he adds,) "would in the least attach me to your person and cause. I am capable of being a most undeviating friend, *without being governed by the smallest religious influence*. . . . I say therefore, go *a-head*. You know, Mahomet had his *right hand man*. The celebrated T. Brown, of New York, is now engaged in cutting your head on a beautiful cornelian stone, as your private seal, which will be set in gold to your order, and sent to you. . . . Shocked I be compelled to announce in this quarter that I have no connection with the Nauvoo Legion, you will, of course, remain silent. . . . I may yet run for a high office in your State, when you would be sure of my

\* Spencer, p. 237.

best service in your behalf. Therefore a *known* connection with you would be against our mutual interest."

To this candid proposal Smith replied in a letter which affects to rebuke the scepticism of Bennett; but, so far was he from feeling any real indignation at the proposed partnership in imposture, that he consents to the request about the Legion, and accepts the offered bribe as follows:—"As to the private seal you mention, if sent to me I shall receive it with the gratitude of a servant of God, and pray that the donor may receive a reward in the resurrection of the just."

Mr. Caswall, an American clergyman, visited Nauvoo about this time, and gives the following curious account of his interview with Joseph Smith:—"Smith is a coarse plebeian person in aspect, and his countenance exhibits a curious mixture of the knave and the clown. His hands are large and awkward, and on one of his fingers he wears a massive gold ring. He has a down-cast look, and possesses none of that open and straightforward expression which generally characterizes an honest man. His language is uncouth and ungrammatical, indicating very confused notions respecting syntactical concords. When an ancient Greek manuscript of the Psalms was exhibited to him as a test of his scholarship, he boldly pronounced it to be a '*Dictionary of Egyptian hieroglyphics*.' Pointing to the capital letters at the commencement of each verse, he said, 'Them figures is Egyptian hieroglyphics, and them which follows is the interpretation of the hieroglyphics, written in the *reformed Egyptian* language. Them characters

is like the letters that was engraved on the golden plates.' He afterwards proceeded to shew his papyrus and to explain the inscriptions; but probably suspecting that the author designed to entrap him, he suddenly left the apartment, leaped into his light waggon, and drove away as fast as possible. The author could not properly avoid expressing his opinion of the prophet to the assembled Mormons; and was engaged for several hours in a sharp controversy with various eminent dignitaries. As the City Council had passed an ordinance under which any stranger in Nauvoo speaking disrespectfully of the prophet might be arrested and imprisoned without process,\* the author deemed himself happy in leaving Nauvoo unmolested, after plainly declaring to the Mormons that they were the dupes of a base and blaspheming impostor. During a visit of three days, he had an opportunity of attending their Sunday services, which were held in a grove adjoining the unfinished temple. About two thousand persons were present, and the appearance of the congregation was quite respectable."†

Every year now added to the wealth and population of Nauvoo, and consequently to the security of its citizens and the glory of its Mayor. Smith's head was so far turned by his success, that in 1844 he offered himself as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Probably, however, this proceeding was only meant as a bravado. In Nauvoo itself he reigned supreme, and

\* Testimony of Bennett, "Louisville Journal," Aug. 3, 1842.

† Prophet of the 19th Century. By Rev. H. Caswall, p. 223.

opposition was put down by the most summary proceedings. The contributions of his votaries and the zeal of their obedience, fed fat his appetite for riches and power. Nor was he restrained from the indulgence of more sensual passions, which ease and indolence had bred. In July 1843, he received a revelation authorizing him, and all those whom he should license, to take an unlimited number of wives.\* This document is too long to quote in full, but the manner in which it silences the remonstrances of Smith's wife is too curious to be omitted:—"Let mine handmaid, Emma Smith, receive all those who have been given unto my servant Joseph, and who are virtuous and pure before me. . . . Therefore it shall be lawful in me if she receive not this law, for him to receive all things whatsoever I the Lord his God will give him. . . . And he is exempt from the law of Sarah, who administered unto Abraham according unto the law, when I commanded Abraham to take Hagar to wife."

On this revelation Smith and his chief adherents proceeded to act. But they at first concealed the innovation under a profound mystery, and during ten years it was only communicated privately to the initiated, and its very existence continued unknown to the majority of the sect. Not many months have yet passed since the Mormon leaders have decided on a bolder policy, and have publicly avowed this portion of their system. Their present audacity, indeed, is more strange than their former reserve; considering

\* This revelation is printed in full in "M. Star," XV. p. 5.



that the consequences of the original invention of this new code of morals were fatal to the Prophet, and disastrous to the Church. For, though the revelation was concealed, the practices which it sanctioned were not easily hidden, especially when some months of impunity had given boldness to the perpetrators. Several women whom Joseph and his "apostles" had endeavoured to seduce, declined their proposals, and disclosed them to their relatives. These circumstances roused into activity a latent spirit of resistance which had for some time been secretly gathering force. The malecontents now ventured to establish an opposition paper called the "Expositor;" and published, in its first number, the affidavits of sixteen women, who alleged that Smith, Rigdon, Young, and others, had invited them to enter into a secret and illicit connexion, under the title of *spiritual marriage*. This open and dangerous rebellion was put down forthwith, by the application of physical force. Joseph Smith ordered a body of his disciples to "abate the nuisance;" and they razed the office of the "Expositor" to the ground. The proprietors fled for their lives, and, when they reached a place of safety, sued out a writ from the legal authorities of Illinois, against Joseph and Hiram Smith, as abettors of the riot. The execution of the warrant was resisted by the people and troops of Nauvoo under the Prophet's authority. On this the Governor of the State called out the militia to enforce the law, and required that the two brothers should be given up for trial. Joseph had now only the alternative of war or

submission. But hostilities would have been hopeless, for his troops only amounted to 4000 men, while the militia of the State numbered 80,000.\* He therefore thought it the wiser course to surrender, especially as the Governor pledged his honour for the personal safety of the prisoners. They were accordingly committed to the county jail at Carthage. A small body of troops was left to defend the prison, but they proved either inadequate or indisposed to the performance of their duty.

The popular mind of Illinois was at this time strongly excited against the Mormonites. The same causes which had led to their expulsion from Zion and from Missouri were again actively at work. Their rapid growth, and apparently invincible elasticity in rising under oppression, had roused even more than the former jealousy. It seemed probable that before long the influx of foreign proselytes might raise the Prophet to supremacy. Why not use the power which the circumstances of the moment placed in their hands, take summary vengeance on the impostor, and for ever defeat the ambitious schemes of his adherents? Under the influence of such hopes and passions, a body of armed men was speedily collected, who overpowered the feeble guard, burst open the doors of the jail, and fired their rifles upon the prisoners. A ball killed Hiram on the spot; when Joseph, who was armed with a revolver, after returning no shots, attempted to escape by leaping the window;

\* Spencer, p. 236, 237. (Mr. Spencer was resident at the time in Nauvoo.)

but he was stunned by his fall, and, while still in a state of insensibility, was picked up and shot by the mob outside the jail. He died on June the 27th, 1844, in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

Thus perished this profligate and sordid knave, by a death too honourable for his deserts. In England he would have been sent to the treadmill for obtaining money on false pretences. In America he was treacherously murdered without a trial; and thus our contempt for the victim is changed into horror for his executioners. The farce which he had played should not have been invested with a factitious dignity by a tragic end. Yet, when we consider the audacious blasphemies in which he had traded for so many years, and the awful guilt which he had incurred in making the voice of heaven pander to his own avarice and lust, we cannot deny that in his punishment, the wrath of lawless men fulfilled the righteousness of God. Secure in the devotion of his armed disciples, and at an age when he could still look forward to a long life of fraud, luxury, and ambition, he had exclaimed—"Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry." But the sentence had gone forth against him—"Thou fool, this night thy soul shall be required of thee."

To call such a man a martyr is an abuse of language which we regret to find in a writer so intelligent as Mr. Mayhew. A martyr is one who refuses to save his life by renouncing his faith. Joseph Smith never had such an option given him. We doubt not that if he could

have escaped from the rifles of his murderers by confessing his imposture, he would have done so without hesitation; and would the next day have received a revelation, directing the faithful to seek safety in renunciation when threatened by the Gentiles. But his enemies knew him too well to give him such an opportunity.

We must also protest against the attempt to represent this vulgar swindler as a sincere enthusiast. "There is much in his later career," says Mr. Mayhew, "which seems to prove that he really believed what he asserted—that he imagined himself the inspired of heaven . . . and the companion of angels." The reason given for this charitable hypothesis is, that "Joseph Smith, in consequence of his pretensions to be a seer and prophet, lived a life of continual misery and persecution;" and that, if he had not been supported by "faith in his own high pretensions and divine mission," he would have "renounced his *unprofitable* and ungrateful task, and sought refuge in private life and honourable industry." The answer to such representations is obvious: First, so far from Joseph's scheme being "unprofitable," it raised him from the depths of poverty to unbounded wealth. Secondly, he had from his earliest years shrunk from "honourable industry," and preferred fraud to work. Thirdly, so far from his having lived in "continual misery and persecution," he gained by his successful imposture the means of indulging every appetite and passion. During the fourteen years which intervened between his invention of Mor-

monism and his death, the only real persecution which he suffered was, when his bankruptcy at Kirtland compelled him to share the fortunes of his followers in Missouri. And as to the risks of life and limb to which he was exposed, they were nothing to those which every soldier encounters for a shilling a day.

It is inexplicable how any one who had ever looked at Joseph's portrait, could imagine him to have been by possibility an honest man. Never did we see a face on which the hand of heaven had more legibly written rascal. That self-complacent simper, that sensual mouth, that leer of vulgar cunning, tell us at one glance the character of their owner. Success, the criterion of fools, has caused many who ridicule his creed to magnify his intellect. Yet we can discover in his career no proof of conspicuous ability. Even the plan of his imposture was neither original nor ingenious. It may be said that, without great intellectual power, he could not have subjected so many thousands to his will, nor formed them into so flourishing a commonwealth. But it must be remembered, that when subjects are firmly persuaded of the divinity of their sovereign, government becomes an easy task. Even with such advantages, Smith's administration was by no means successful. He was constantly involved in difficulties which better management would have avoided, and which the policy of his successor has overcome. We are inclined to believe that the sagacity shown in the construction of his ecclesiastical system, belonged rather to his lieutenants than to himself; and that his chief,

his only talent, was his gigantic impudence. This he rock whereon he built his church ; and his success proves how little ingenuity is needed to deceive mankind.

The men of Illinois imagined that the death of the prophet would annihilate the sect ; and the opinion was not unreasonable. For it seemed certain that there would be a contest among the lieutenants of Joseph for the vacant throne ; and it was probable that the Church would thus be shattered into fragments mutually destructive. Such a contest, indeed, did actually occur ; our claimants, Sidney Rigdon, William Smith, Amos Alonzo Wight, and Brigham Young, disputed the allegiance of the faithful. But the latter was unanimously supported by the Apostolic College, of which Sidney Rigdon was chairman. This body was obeyed by the great majority of the inhabitants of Nauvoo ; and a General Council of the Church, summoned about six weeks after Joseph's death, excommunicated the other pretenders, and even ventured to " deliver over to Satan " Sidney Rigdon himself, although their Sacred Books represented him equal with the Prophet ; who had, however, latterly shown a disposition to slight and humiliate the other claimants. The Mormons throughout the world acquiesced in this decision ; and Brigham Young was established as the sole prophet, seer, revelator, and President of the Church and of the Kingdom of God on Earth.

The first months of the new reign were tolerably successful. The enemies of Zion were satisfied with the blow which they had dealt ; and the saints were

suffered to gather the harvest of that year without disturbance. But in the following winter it became evident to the independent electors of Illinois, that the sect, far from being destroyed, was becoming more formidable than ever. New emigrants still continued to pour into Nauvoo; and the temple was daily rising above the sacred hill, in token of defiance. Exasperated by these visible proofs of their failure, the inhabitants of the nine adjoining counties met together, and formed an alliance for the extermination of their detested neighbours.

Henceforward it was evident that, while the Mormons continued to inhabit Nauvoo, they must live in a perpetual state of siege, and till their fields with a plough in one hand and a rifle in the other. Moreover, experience had shown that elements of disunion existed even among themselves. So long as they were established in any of the settled States, they could not exclude unbelievers from among them. There must always be Gentile strangers who would intrude among the saints for lucre's sake, and form a nucleus round which disappointed or traitorous members might rally and create internal conflict. This could only be avoided by the transplantation of the Mormon commonwealth beyond the reach of foreign contact. Actuated by these reasons, the leaders who met to deliberate on the steps demanded by the crisis, came to a decision which, adventurous as it seemed, has proved no less wise than bold. They resolved to migrate in a body far beyond the boundaries of the United States, and to interpose a thousand miles of wilderness between themselves and

the civilized world. In the fastnesses of the Rocky Mountains, the Alps of North America, they determined to seek that freedom, civil and religious, which was denied them by their countrymen. In a hymn composed for the occasion, they express this Phocæan resolution as follows:—

“We'll burst off all our fetters, and break the Gentile yoke,

For long it has beset us, but now it shall be broke.

No more shall Jacob bow his neck;

Henceforth he shall be great and free

In Upper California.

Oh, that's the land for me!

Oh, that's the land for me!”—(*Hymns*, 353.)

Their decision was announced to the saints throughout the world by a General Epistle, which bears date Jan. 20, 1846. It was also communicated to their hostile neighbours, who agreed to allow the Mormons time to sell their property, on condition that they should leave Nauvoo before the ensuing summer. A pioneer party of sixteen hundred persons started before the conclusion of winter, in the hope of reaching their intended settlement in time to prepare a reception for the main body by the close of autumn. But the season was unusually cold, and their supply of food proved inadequate. Intense suffering brought on disease, which rapidly thinned their numbers. Yet the survivors pressed on undauntedly, and even provided for their friends who were to follow, by laying out farms in the wilderness, and planting them with grain. Thus they struggled onwards, from the Mississippi to the Missouri, on the banks of which they encamped, beyond the limits of the



States, not far from the point of its junction with its great tributary, the Platte. They had resolved to settle in some part of the Californian territory, which then belonged to Mexico; and it happened that, at this time, the Mexican war having begun, the Government of the Union wished to march a body of troops into California, and invited the Mormon emigrants to furnish a body of five hundred volunteers for the service. This requisition is now represented by the Mormons as a new piece of persecution. Yet they complied with it at the time without hesitation; and five hundred of their number were thus conveyed across the continent at the expense of Government; and yet rejoined their brethren among the Rocky Mountains in the following summer, after having discovered the Californian gold-diggings on their way. As no compulsion was exercised, it is evident that the Mormon leaders must have judged it expedient thus to diminish their numbers, which were at that time too great for their means of support. But it is admitted by Captain Stansbury (the officer employed by the United States in the survey of Utah), that the drain of this Mexican battalion prevented the remainder of the pioneers from reaching the Mountains that season. They, therefore, formed an encampment on the bank of the Missouri, where they were joined in the course of the summer and autumn by successive parties from Nauvoo. Meanwhile those who had remained in the city occupied themselves, during the precarious truce which they enjoyed, in finishing their temple. This building, the completion of which had been invested

with a mysterious importance by the revelations of their prophet, was a huge and ugly pile of limestone, strongly resembling Bloomsbury Church. But as it was far superior in architectural pretensions to any of the meeting-houses in the neighbouring States, it was looked upon in the West as a miracle of art. The Mormon High Priests returned from their frontier camp to consecrate it on the day of its completion, in May, 1846. The following sample of the consecration service will probably satisfy our readers:—

“Ho, ho! for the Temple’s completed,  
 The Lord hath a place for His head;  
 The priesthood in power now lightens  
 The way of the living and dead.  
 See, see! ’mid the world’s dreadful splendours,  
*Christianity, folly, and sword,*  
 The Mormons, the diligent Mormons,  
 Have reared up this House to the Lord.”  
 (*Hymns 333.*)

This ceremony had a disastrous influence on the fortunes of the remaining citizens. “It was construed,” says Colonel Kane, “to indicate an insincerity on the part of the Mormons as to their stipulated departure, or at least a hope of return; and their foes set upon them with renewed bitterness. . . . A vindictive war was waged upon them, from which the weakest fled in scattered parties, leaving the rest to make a reluctant and almost ludicrously unavailing defence, till the 17th of September, when 1625 troops entered Nauvoo, and drove forth all who had not retreated before that time.”

Thus, once more, the lawless tyranny of a majority trampled down the rights of a minority. These instances of triumphant outrage, which have recurred so often in our narrative, are not only striking as pictures of American life, but may also furnish an instructive warning to some among ourselves. They force upon us the conclusion, that laws are not more willingly obeyed because made by universal suffrage. They teach us that, in those communities where every man has an equal share in legislation, the ordinances of the legislature are treated with a contemptuous disregard, for which the history of other nations can furnish no precedent. The mob, knowing that they can enact laws when they please, infer that they may dispense with that formality at discretion, and accomplish their will directly, without the intermediate process of recording it in the statute-book. They can make the law, therefore they may break the law; as the barbarous Romans claimed the right of killing the sons they had begotten.

We must refer to Colonel Kane for a picturesque account of the appearance of Nauvoo after its desertion, and of the sufferings of its helpless citizens, who were driven across the Mississippi by their foes. It was with pain and toil that these last unfortunate exiles reached the camp of their brethren. "Like the wounded birds of a flock fired into towards nightfall, they came straggling on with faltering steps, many of them without bag or baggage, all asking shelter or burial, and forcing a fresh repartition of the already divided rations of their

riends." At last, towards the close of autumn, all these migrants had rejoined the main body, in the valley of the Missouri. And there they prepared to meet the severity of winter, in the depth of an Indian wilderness. The stronger members of the party had employed the summer in cutting and storing hay for the cattle, and in laying up such supplies of food as they could obtain. But these labours had been interrupted by a destructive fever, bred by the pestilential vapours of the marshy plain, which decimated their numbers. When winter came upon them, they were but ill prepared to meet it. For want of other shelter they were fain to dig caves in the ground, and huddle together there for warmth. Many of the cattle died of starvation; and the same fate was hardly escaped by the emaciated owners.

At length the spring came to relieve their wretchedness. Out of twenty thousand Mormons who had formed the population of Nauvoo and its environs, little more than three thousand were now assembled on the Missouri. Of the rest many had perished miserably; and many had dispersed in search of employment, to await a more convenient season for joining their friends. The hardest of the saints who still adhered to the camp of Israel, were now organized into a company of pioneers; and they set out, to the number of 143 men, up the valley of the Platte, to seek a home among the Rocky Mountains. They carried rations for six months, agricultural implements, and seed grain; and were accompanied by the President and his chief counsellors. After three months' journey they reached the valley of the Great

Salt Lake on the 21st of July. And here they determined to bring their wanderings to a close, and to establish a "Stake of Zion."\* But they had small time to rest from their fatigues. Immediately on their arrival a fort was erected to secure them against the Indians with log-houses opening upon a square, into which they drove their cattle at night. "In five days a field was consecrated, fenced, ploughed, and planted."—(*G.* 134. Before the autumn they were rejoined by their brethren whom they had left on the Missouri. This large body, consisting of about three thousand persons, including many women and children, journeyed across the unknown desert with the discipline of a veteran army. Colonel Kane, who had been an eye-witness, describes with admiration "the strict order of march, the unfused closing up to meet attack, the skilful securing of cattle upon the halt, the system with which the watches were set at night to guard the camp. . . . Every ten of their waggon was under the care of a captain; this captain of ten obeyed a captain of fifty; who in turn obeyed a member of the *High Council of the Church.*"

By the aid of this admirable organization, they triumphed over the perils of the wilderness; and, after

\* All the Mormon settlements are called "*Stakes of Zion*" to distinguish them from Jackson County, Missouri, which is "*Zion.*" This is ultimately to be reconquered by the saints, and thus Joseph's prophecy (which their expulsion seemed to falsify) is to be fulfilled. Meanwhile, when speaking popularly, they apply the term *Zion* to Utah.

a weary pilgrimage of a thousand miles, came at last within view of their destined home. The last portion of their route, which led them into the defiles of the mountains, was the most difficult:—"When the last mountain has been crossed, the road passes along the bottom of a deep ravine, whose scenery is of almost terrific gloom. At every turn the overhanging cliffs threaten to break down upon the river at their base. At the end of this defile, which is five miles in length, the emigrants come abruptly out of the dark pass into the lighted valley, on a terrace of its upper table land. A ravishing panoramic landscape opens out below them, blue and green, and gold and pearl; a great sea with hilly islands; a lake; and broad sheets of grassy plain; all set as in a silver-chased cup, within mountains whose peaks of perpetual snow are burnished by a dazzling sun."

The sympathy which we so freely give to the shout of the ten thousand Greeks, hailing the distant waters of the Euxine, we cannot refuse to the rapture of these Mormon pilgrims, when at last they beheld the promised land from the top of their transatlantic Pisgah. Nor is it wonderful that their superstition discovered in the aspect of their new inheritance an assurance of blessing; for the region which they saw below them bears, in its geographical features, a resemblance singularly striking to the Land of Canaan. The mountain lake of Galilee, the Jordan issuing from its waves, and the salt waters of the Dead Sea, where the river is absorbed and lost, have all their exact parallels in the

territory of Utah. Here surely was the portion of Jacob, where the wanderings of Israel might find rest!

The arrival of these wayworn exiles, together with that of the disbanded volunteers from California, raised the number of the colony to nearly four thousand persons. The first thing needful was to provide that this multitude should not perish for lack of food. "Ploughing and planting," says Captain Stansbury, "continued throughout the whole winter, and until the July following; by which time a line of fence had been constructed enclosing upwards of six thousand acres, laid down in crops, besides a large tract of pasture land." But, notwithstanding all their industry, the colonists were on the brink of starvation during the first winter. There is very little game in the country, and they were reduced to the necessity of feeding on wild roots and on carrion; and even tore off the hides with which they had roofed their cabins, to boil them down into soup. "When we clambered the mountains," says one of them, "with the Indians, to get leeks, we were sometimes too feeble to pull them out of the ground."—(XV. 381.) This bitter season, however, saw the last of their sufferings; an abundant harvest relieved their wants; and since that time their agriculture has been so successful, that they have raised enough, not only for home consumption, but for the demand of the numerous emigrants who are constantly passing through their settlements to the gold diggings of California. The engineers of the Central Government who surveyed their terri-

tory, state, that although the soil capable of cultivation bears a very small proportion to that which (for want of water) is doomed to sterility, yet the strip of arable land along the base of the mountains makes up, by its prodigious fertility, for its small extent—(S. 141.); and that it would support, with ease, a million of inhabitants.—(G. 18.) This question is of primary importance, because a country so distant from the sea, and so far from all other civilized states, must depend entirely on its own resources. There must be a constant danger lest an unfavourable season should be followed by a famine. Against such a calamity, however, some provision is made by accumulating large quantities of grain in public storehouses, where the hierarchical government deposits the tithes which it receives in kind.

In physical prosperity, the new commonwealth, which is still (in 1854) only in the sixth year of its foundation, has advanced with a rapidity truly wonderful; especially when we consider the disadvantages under which it is placed, by the fact that every imported article has to be dragged by land carriage for a thousand miles over roadless prairies, bridgeless rivers, and snow-clad mountains. Thus reduced to self-dependence, we can imagine the straits to which the first emigrants were brought for want of those innumerable comforts of civilized life which cannot be extemporised, and need cumbersome machinery for their manufacture. We can understand why, even after some years of settlement, the new citizens complained that nineteen-twentieths of the most common articles of clothing and furniture were



not to be procured among them at any price.—(XV. 395.) But before their steady energy, such difficulties have gradually vanished. When the colony had barely reached its fifth birthday, besides their agricultural triumphs already mentioned, they had completed an admirable system of irrigation, had built bridges over their principal rivers, and possessed iron-works and coal-mines, a factory of beet-sugar, a nail-work, and innumerable sawing-mills; and had even sacrificed to the graces by “a manufactory of small-tooth combs!”—(XV. 418 and 437.) Regular mails were established with San Francisco on the Pacific, and New York on the Atlantic; public baths were erected, and copiously supplied by the boiling springs of the volcanic region, affording to the citizens that wholesome luxury, so justly appreciated by the ancients, and so barbarously neglected by the moderns. They were even beginning to cultivate the arts and sciences, *more Americano*. They had founded a “University” in their capital, where one of the apostles gives lectures on astronomy, wherein he overthrows the Newtonian theory—(G. 82.) They had sculptured a monument to the memory of Washington. They had laid the foundation of a temple which is to surpass the architectural splendours of Nauvoo. They had reared a Mormon Sappho, who officiates as the laureate of King Brigham. Nay, they had even organized a dramatic association, which acts tragedies and comedies during the season.

Meanwhile, their population had increased by immigration from 4000 to 30,000, of whom 7000 were as-

sembled in the city of Salt Lake, their capital. The rest were scattered over the country, to replenish the earth and to subdue it. This task they undertake, not with the desultory independence of isolated squatters, but with a centralized organization, the result of which, in giving efficiency to the work of energetic men, has astonished (says Captain Stansbury) even those by whom it has been effected. He adds,—“The mode which they adopt for the founding of a new town is highly characteristic. An expedition is first sent out to explore the country, with a view to the selection of the best site. An elder of the Church is then appointed to preside over the band designated to make the first improvement. This company is composed partly of volunteers, and partly of such as are selected by the Presidency, due regard being had to a proper intermixture of mechanical artisans, to render the expedition independent of all aid from without.”—(S. 142.)

But the effects of this system will be better understood by quoting the following letter of an emigrant, who thus describes the foundation of one of the most important of these new settlements:—

“In company of upward of an hundred waggons, I was sent on a mission with G. A. Smith, one of the Twelve, to Iron County, 270 miles south of Salt Lake, in the depth of winter, to form a settlement in the valley of Little Salt Lake (now Parowan), as a preparatory step to the manufacturing of iron. After some difficulty in getting through the snow, we arrived safe and sound in the valley. After looking out a location, we

formed our waggons into two parallel lines, some seven paces apart; we then took the boxes from the wheels and planted them about a couple of paces from each other, so securing ourselves that we could not easily be taken advantage of by any unknown foe. This done we next cut a road up the cañon [ravine], opening it a distance of some eight miles, bridging the creek some five or six places, making the timber and produce (of which there is an immense quantity) of easy access. We next built a large meeting-house, two stories high of large pine-trees all neatly jointed together. We next built a square fort, with a commodious cattle-yard inside the enclosure. The houses built were some of hewn logs, and some of *adobies* (dried bricks), all neat and comfortable. We next enclosed a field, five by three miles square, with a good ditch and pole fence. We dug canals and water ditches to the distance of thirty or forty miles. One canal to turn the water of another creek upon the field, for irrigating purposes, was seven miles long. We built a saw-mill and grist-mill the same season. I have not time to tell you half the labours we performed in one season. Suffice it to say that when the Governor came along in the spring, pronounced it the greatest work done in the mountains by the same amount of men."—(XV. 458.)

We must not be tempted to linger too long on this part of our subject, or we might illustrate it by many similar examples. Suffice it to say, that by such judicious enterprise a chain of agricultural posts has been formed, which already extends beyond the territory

Utah, and connects the Salt Lake with the Pacific. The chief of these settlements, San Bernardino, bids fair to be one of the most important cities in California. "The agricultural interest of the colonists of San Bernardino," says the 'New York Herald,' "is larger than that of the three adjoining counties united. Their manufacturing interest is rapidly increasing. They supply the southern country with timber, and for miles around they furnish flour from the fine mills which they have erected. They have purchased land for town sites in eligible situations on the sea-coast."—(XV. 61.) The object of the Mormons in this extended colonisation is to establish a good line of communication with the Pacific, by which they may bring up their immigrants more easily than across the immense tract which separates them from the Missouri. At first they hoped to include this line of coast in their own territory; but Congress refused their petition to that effect, and restricted them within limits which separate them from the sea; the above-mentioned maritime colonies being offshoots beyond their own jurisdiction.

But we are here assuming a knowledge of the political relations between the Mormon commonwealth and the United States, which we have not yet described. Soon after the exiles had taken possession of their new home, it passed from the dominion of Mexico to that of the United States by the treaty of 1848. Not long after, a convention of the inhabitants petitioned Congress to admit them into the Confederation as a Sovereign State, under the title of the State of Deseret, a

name taken from the Book of Mormon. This the Congress declined; but passed an Act, in 1850, erecting the Mormon district into a *Territory*, under the name of Utah. We should explain that, according to the American Constitution, the position of a *Territory* is very inferior to that of a *State*. The chief officers of a *Territory* are appointed not by the inhabitants, but by the President of the Union. The acts of the local legislature are null and void unless ratified by Congress. The property in the soil belongs to the Government of the United States. It will easily be understood how natural is the anxiety of the citizens of a *Territory* to emerge from this humiliating position, into that of a sovereign commonwealth, which can elect its own magistrates, make its own laws, and adopt the constitution which it prefers. But this anxiety is doubly felt by the Mormons, because, so long as they remain subject to the central Government of the Union, they naturally fear that the popular hatred which expelled them from Illinois and Missouri, may manifest itself in renewed persecution. Nor are causes of collision wanting. In the first place, the inhabitants of Utah have as yet no legal title to their land, for they have taken possession of it without purchase; and the ownership of the soil is in the United States. Yet the Mormons naturally protest against claims which would exact payment from them for that property which derives all its value from their successful enterprise. Again, the President of the Union has the right of appointing an "unbeliever" Governor of the Territory. Such an appointment

would be considered a grave insult by the population ; and they have announced very clearly their intention to oppose it (should it ever take place) by passive resistance, which probably would soon pass into active violence. President Fillmore avoided this difficulty by nominating the Head of the Mormon Church as Governor of the Territory. But the appointment is only for four years, and may be cancelled at pleasure. Another cause of apprehended quarrel is the Mormon custom of polygamy. The Territorial Legislature has no power of legalising this practice, and consequently the majority of the children of all the great officers of the Church are illegitimate in the eye of the law. Probably some child of a first wife will seek on this ground to oust his half brothers from the paternal inheritance. The Courts of the United States must necessarily give judgment in favour of his claim. But it is certain that such a judgment could not be enforced in Utah without military force, which would be enthusiastically resisted by the population. This particular case, indeed, may not arise for some years. But the indignation excited against the Mormon polygamy is such, that a portion of the American press is already urging an armed intervention on the Government :—

“Not only (says the Philadelphia Register) should Utah be refused admission into the Union, so long as she maintains this abominable domestic institution ; but Congress, under its power to make all needful regulations respecting the territory of the United States,

should take measures to punish a crime which dishonours our nation."—(XV. 358.)

Such are the clouds already visible on the horizon of Utah, which portend a coming storm. One collision has actually occurred, but has passed off without serious effects. It was caused by the unpopularity of two judges, appointed by the President of the United States. No doubt it was very difficult to find among the Mormons any even moderately qualified for such an office. One provincial practitioner was however found, who, though not a resident in Utah, was brother of an Apostle; and he was nominated to a seat upon the bench. But the two other judges were "unbelievers;" and this circumstance of itself caused them to be received with coldness. One of them, also, gave great offence by a speech at a public meeting, in which he advised the Mormon ladies "*to become virtuous.*"—(XIV. 406.) The Governor, whose own harem was present, resented this as a gross insult, and an open quarrel ensued. Very free language was used as to the resolution of the people of Utah to resist any interference on the part of the Central Government. This language was declared treasonable by the two unbelieving Judges, and by the Secretary of the Territory, who all returned to Washington, and, in a report to Government, denounced the disloyalty of the Territory which they had deserted. In the sublime language of the "*Deseret News*"—"The Judicial Ermine doffed its desecrated wand to the ladies of Utah, satanlike rebuking sin;

blackened the sacred pages of its country's history with the records of a mock court ; *shook its shaggy mane* in disappointed wrath, and rushed *with rapid strides* over the mountains to its orient den."—(XIV. 524.)

President Fillmore, however, wisely forbore to take up the quarrel of his nominees, and made new appointments, which appear to be more acceptable to the Mormon population. Thus the danger has passed over for the time ; but such symptoms show the precarious character of the existing peace.

Meanwhile, the Mormon leaders are taking every measure which is calculated to secure themselves against repetition of the exterminating process to which they have been so often subjected. They keep their militia in constant drill, and its discipline is said to be excellent. Every man capable of bearing arms is enrolled, and the apostles, bishops, and elders appear in military uniform as majors, colonels, or generals, at the head of their troops. They could already oppose a force of 10,000 men to an invading enemy. And the standing army of the United States only amounts to 10,000, which must march for three months through a wilderness before they reached the defiles of the mountains, where they would find themselves opposed, under every disadvantage of ground, with all the fury of fanaticism. Indeed, Lieutenant Gunnison intimates that, in his opinion, the Mormons might already defy any force which could be sent against them.

The causes above mentioned fully account for the aggressiveness manifested by the heads of the Church in



pressing upon the saints throughout the world the duty of emigrating to Utah. Their power of resisting hostile interference must of course be proportionate to their numerical strength. If they can double the present population, they may defend their mountain fastnesses against the world. Moreover, they will have the right, according to the practice of the Union to demand admission as a State into the Federation, when their population amounts to 60,000. Hence the duty most emphatically urged upon all Mormon proselytes is immediate emigration. They must shake from their feet the dust of "Babylon," and hasten to "Zion." "Every saint," says a recent General Epistle, "who does not come home, will be afflicted by the devil."—(XIV. 20.) And again, "Zion is our home, the place which God has appointed for the refuge of his people. Every particle of our means which we use in Babylon is a loss to ourselves."—(*Ibid.* 210.) And the elders are exhorted "to thunder the word of the Almighty to the saints, to arise and come to Zion."—(*Ibid.* 201.) Nor are their efforts confined to words of exhortation. They raise annually a considerable sum, under the name of the *Perpetual Emigration Fund*, to pay the outfit and passage of those who are willing to emigrate but unable to pay their own expenses. This fund amounted last year to 34,000 dollars.—(XV. 439.) Most of the emigrants, however, pay for themselves. In 1853, the number of saints who sailed from England was 2609—(*Ibid.* 264); among whom 2312 were British subjects and 297 Danes. Only 400 of these had their passag

paid by the fund. The whole Mormon emigration from Europe has hitherto been considerably under 3000 annually. Even including the converts from the United States, only 3000 settlers arrived in Utah in 1851. These details, which we have collected from the official statistics published in the "Star," will show how grossly the Mormon emigration has been exaggerated by the press. The American papers, with their usual grandiloquence, are constantly telling us that hundreds of thousands have arrived on their way to Utah; and these fables are copied on this side of the Atlantic, and go the round of Europe. In reality, during the fourteen years from 1837 to 1851, under 17,000 Mormons had emigrated from England. In future, however, while the Emigration Fund continues in operation, the rate will probably be not less than 3000 a-year. We may therefore suppose that, including the proselytes from the Union, the census of Utah will be increased by 3500 annually. Besides this, we may allow, perhaps, 1000 per annum (considering the nature of the population) for the average excess of births over deaths during the time that the population is rising from 30,000 to 60,000. On this hypothesis, it will have reached the required number by 1859.

This emigration, though very insignificant when compared with the exaggerated statements above mentioned, is surprisingly great when we consider the enormous difficulties by which it is impeded. In fact, if we except the capital of Thibet, there is perhaps no city in the world so difficult to reach as the metropolis of

the Mormons. Emigrants from Europe must first undertake the long sea voyage to New Orleans ; thence they must proceed by steamer up the Mississippi to St. Louis, a distance of 1300 miles. From St. Louis, a farther voyage of 800 miles brings them to the junction of the Missouri and the Platte. From thence they must proceed in waggons across the wilderness, a journey of three weary months, before they reach their final destination. The appearance of these trains of pilgrims must be highly curious and picturesque. Captain Stansbury thus describes one of them, which he passed :—" We met ninety-five waggons to-day, containing the advance of the Mormon emigration. Two large flocks of sheep were driven before the train ; and geese and turkeys had been conveyed in coops the whole distance, without apparent damage. One old gander poked his head out of his box, and hissed most energetically at every passer-by, as if to shew that his spirit was still unbroken, notwithstanding his long confinement. The waggons swarmed with women and children, and I estimated the train at a thousand head of cattle, a hundred head of sheep, and five hundred human souls."—(S. 223.)

"The waggon," he tells us elsewhere, "is literally the emigrant's home. In it he carries his all, and it serves him as tent, kitchen, parlour, and bed-room ; and not unfrequently also as a boat, to ferry his load over an otherwise impassable stream."—(S. 26.)

The deluded proselytes, who, in the mere act of reaching the parched valleys of Deseret, expend an amount

of capital and toil sufficient to establish them with every comfort in many happier colonies, are by no means drawn from the most ignorant portion of the community. More than two-thirds of their number consist of artisans and mechanics. Out of 352 emigrants who sailed from Liverpool in February 1852, Mr. Mayhew ascertained that only 108 were unskilled labourers; the remaining 244 consisted of farmers, miners, engine-makers, joiners, weavers, shoemakers, smiths, tailors, watchmakers, masons, butchers, bakers, potters, painters, ship-wrights, iron-moulders, basket-makers, dyers, ropers, paper-makers, glass-cutters, nailors, saddlers, sawyers, and gunmakers.—(*M. Illust.* 245.) Thus the Mormon emigration is drawn mainly from a single rank of society; and the result is, that the population of Utah presents an aspect singularly homogeneous, and has attained (without any socialism) more nearly to the socialist ideal of a dead level than any other community in the world. There are no poor, for the humblest labourer becomes on his arrival a peasant proprietor; and, although some have already grown rich, yet none are exempt from the necessity of manual labour, except, indeed, the prophets and chief apostles of the Church. And even these seek to avert popular envy, by occasionally taking a turn at their old employments; following the example of the President, who was bred a carpenter, and still sometimes does a job of joiner's work upon his mills.—(*G.* 141.) Such a state of society combines the absence of many evils and much misery, with the want of those humanizing influences which result

from the intermixture of men of leisure with men of labour.

But it is time to turn from the outward phenomena of Mormonism to its inward life; from its relations towards the external world, to its own internal system, theological, ethical, and ecclesiastical. And since those who join it, join it as a Religion, let us first examine the doctrines which it teaches, and which they accept.

We have already said that the original Theology of Mormonism was not distinguished by any marked peculiarities. And even still, those who preach it to the ignorant and simple disguise it under the mask of ordinary Protestantism, and affect to differ from rival sects rather in their pretensions than in their doctrines. The order lately given to the English elders was to abstain from perplexing their hearers with startling novelties, and only "to preach faith, repentance, baptism for the remission of sins, and *faith in Joseph Smith and Brigham Young*."—(XIV. 226.) Even the more intelligent English converts, when asked wherein they differ from other sects, reply that the difference consists in their claim to possess miraculous gifts and a living prophet.

These *gifts*, which they profess to exercise, are the powers of healing the sick, speaking in tongues, and casting out devils. The former (which they found on the well-known passage in St. James) they put in practice on every occasion of illness. Not a month passes without some miraculous case of cure being published in their journals. In reading these narratives, we might almost think we had stumbled on an advertisement of

Morison's pills. "The consequence," says Elder Spencer, "of changing this one ordinance to the medical nostrums of men, is the literal death of thousands."

The *Gift of Tongues* is of still easier execution, and forms a frequent incident in the public worship of the sect. Thus we read, in the official report of a recent Conference at Utah:—"Sister Bybee *spoke in tongues*. President Young declared it to be a *proper tongue*, and inquired *what the nations would do, if they were here*. He said, *if he were to give way to the brethren and sisters, the day of Pentecost would be in the shade in comparison to it*"—(XIV. 356.)

This is sufficiently profane; but still more disgusting are the scenes which take place in the casting out of devils. Daniel Jones, now one of the three "Presidents of the Church in Wales,"\* thus describes a case in which he officiated as exorciser:—"The spirits were all this time making the loudest noise; calling out, '*Old Captain, have you come to trouble us? d—d Old Captain, we will hold you a battle.*' Many other expressions used would be indecent to utter, and others useless, I suppose. Some spoke English, through one that knew no English of herself. Others spoke in tongues, praying for a reinforcement of their kindred spirits, and chiding some dreadfully by name, such as, *Borona, Menta, Philo*. They swore they would not depart, *unless old Brigham Young, from America, would come*."—(Star, XI. 40, quoted in *Morm. Illust.*)

We should have been inclined to infer from such

\* M. Star, XV. 511.

descriptions that the performers in these exhibitions must either be the most shameless of hypocrites, or the most crazy of fanatics. But we are silenced when we remember that two English clergymen have also very lately published their dialogues with devils; and have surpassed their Mormon rivals in absurdity, inasmuch as they have fixed the residence of Satan, not in the heart of a man, but in the legs of a table.\*

The resemblance thus manifested between the teaching of some of our popular religionists, and that of the Mormons, is not confined to the point of diabolic agency. It results from a materialistic tendency observable in the two theological systems. Besides some other effects, this leads both alike to misconstrue the metaphors of Scripture by a literal interpretation, and to distort the biblical prophecies, by viewing them through a carnal medium. Thus, the Mormonite speculations on the Restoration of the Jews, and on the Millennium, are the same which may sometimes be heard in Puritan pulpits. Both schools dwell with similar fondness on the battle of Armageddon, and give a description of the combatants equally minute. The Mormons teach that this contest will be between the Papists on one side and "the Church" on the other. The triumph of their own adherents is to usher in the Millennium. Even the date assigned to the Restoration of the Jews is the same in both systems. "It shall come to pass in the

\* An account of these publications is given in a most interesting article in the "Quarterly" of last October, on the subject of Tabernacles.

enth century," says the official organ of Mormon, "that the great trumpet shall be blown, and the Jews] shall come, who are ready to perish in land of Assyria, and the outcast in the land of , and shall worship the Lord in the holy mountain Jerusalem."—(*XIV. 12.*)

this tendency to debase a spiritual truth into a material fiction is most strikingly developed in the Mormon doctrine of the Resurrection. It must be confessed, however, that some Christian writers have incautiously spoken on this subject, in language contradicting that of Paul; and have seemed to teach that this corporeal body of flesh and blood will inherit eternal life.\* A number of such incautious statements is shown by references deduced from them in the writings of the Mormons. According to their teaching, not only the body, but all the habits, occupations, and necessities of life, be the same in the future world as in the present. Thus, one of their chief pillars tells us, that the future residence of the saints is not an ideal

They will need houses for their persons and for families, as much in their *resurrected* condition as in their present state. In this identical world, where they have been robbed of houses, and lands, and wife, and children, they shall have an hundred-fold."—(*Spencer,*

another "Apostle" calculates the exact amount of

the admirable arguments of Dr. Burton, late Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, against certain popular views of this subject.—*Dr. Burton's Bampton Lectures, Appendix.*)



landed property which may be expected by the "*resurrected saints*:"—"Suppose that, out of the population of the earth, one in a hundred should be entitled to an inheritance upon the new earth, how much land would each receive? We answer, they would receive over a hundred and fifty acres, which would be quite enough to raise manna, and to build some splendid mansions. It would be large enough to have our flower gardens, and everything the agriculturist and the botanist want."—(*P. Pratt*, in *XIV*. 663.)

But not content with degrading the Scriptural conception of immortality by these sordid and grovelling imaginations, they venture directly to contradict the words of our Lord himself, by affirming that, in the Resurrection, men both marry and are given in marriage. Thus the author above quoted tells us that—"Abraham and Sarah will continue to multiply, not only in this world, but in all worlds to come. . . . Will the resurrection return you a mere *female acquaintance*, that is *not* to be the wife of your bosom in eternity! No, God forbid! But it will restore you the wife of your bosom immortalised, who shall bear children from your own loins, in all worlds to come."—(*P. O.* 6.)

This they call the doctrine of *Celestial Marriage*, to which, in its connexion with their polygamy, we shall presently return.

A still more peculiar tenet of their creed is the necessity of *baptism for the dead*. This doctrine was broached by Smith at an early period, and is incorporated into the "Book of Doctrines and Covenants," the *Mormonite*

New Testament.\* Every Mormon is bound to submit to this rite for the benefit of his deceased relatives. Its institution seems to have had the same pecuniary object as that of the masses *pro defunctis*; although the fees demanded by the priesthood for its performance are not stated in the official documents. They tell us, however, that the dead “depend on their posterity, relatives, or friends, for this completing of the works necessary for their salvation”—(*XIV.* 232.); and that their genealogies will be revealed to the faithful by the prophets in the temple.—(*Seer*, i. 141.) Thus (says Joseph Smith, in his “*last sermon*”):—“Every man who has got a friend in the eternal world can save him, unless he has committed the unpardonable sin; so *you see how far you can be a saviour.*”

And to the same effect the Mormon hymnist sings:—

“I am Zionward bound, where a Seer is our head,  
We'll there be baptized for our friends that are dead;  
By obeying this law we may set them all free,  
And saviours we shall upon Mount Zion be.”

(*XV.* 143.)

The Chancellor of the University of Deseret informs us, that “unless this is done for the dead *they cannot be redeemed.*”—(*Spencer*, 166.) And the same learned authority announces that—“Peter tells how the devout and honourable dead may be saved, who never heard the gospel on earth. Says he, [St. Peter!] ‘else why are they baptized for the dead?’ ”†

\* See *D. C.*, sections 105, 106.

† Mr. Spencer, who here cites the *1st Corinthians* as the work of St. Peter, was ordained as a Baptist minister in America, and says that he

This Mormon sacrament is connected with another retrograde tenet, which restricts the due celebration of religious rites to one local sanctuary—"Verily I say unto you, after you have had sufficient time to build a house to me, wherein the ordinance of baptizing for the dead belongeth, and for which the same was instituted from before the foundation of the world . . . your baptisms for the dead by those who are scattered abroad, are not acceptable unto me."—(*D. C.* sec. 103.)

Hence the mysterious importance attached to the completion of the Nauvoo Temple. The corner-stone of a new and far larger edifice has lately been laid at Deseret, the form of which has been represented to Brigham Young in a miraculous vision. He refuses to reveal its plan beforehand; but declares that, magnificent as it will be, it is only the faint image of that which will beautify reconquered Missouri. "The time will come when there will be a tower in the centre of temples we shall build, and on its top *groves and fountains*."—(*XV.* 488.) What would Mr. Ruskin say to this proposed new style of ecclesiastical architecture? Mr. Gunnison tells us (from information given him at Utah) that as soon as the present temple is finished "*animal sacrifices* for the daily sins of the people" will be offered therein by the priesthood.—(*G.* 57.) This will complete the return of Mormonism to the "weal

graduated at "Hamilton Theological College," in 1829, and held "the first grade of honourable distinction." He complains that his character has been much "villified;" his spelling and grammar could scarcely be represented as viler than they are, by any of his "villifiers."

and beggarly elements," of that dispensation which was purposely adapted to a state of moral childhood, "wherein were offered both gifts and sacrifices that could not make him that did the service perfect, as pertaining to the conscience; which stood only in meats and drinks, and divers washings, and carnal ordinances, imposed until the time of reformation."

The same retrogressive tendency has led the Mormonites to adopt a system of anthropomorphism which has never been equalled by any other sect, though it was approached fifteen centuries ago by the Egyptian monks whom Theophilus anathematised. Allegorical images, under which the attributes of God were made intelligible to the rude Israelites by Moses, and even metaphorical figures, adopted by devotional poetry in a later age, are interpreted by Smith and his disciples in a sense as merely literal and material, as they would attach to the placards wherein their countrymen describe the person of a fugitive slave. The nature of these materialising dogmas cannot be rendered intelligible except by quotations, which, from their profanity, we would willingly omit. The following is an extract from one of their popular catechisms, bearing on the subject:—

"Q. 28. What is God?—A. He is a *material* intelligent personage, possessing both body and parts.

"Q. 38. Doth He also possess passions?—A. Yes, He eats, He drinks, He loves, He hates.

"Q. 44. Can this being occupy two distinct places at once?—A. No."\*

\* Latter Day Saints' Catechism, quoted in *Morm. Illust.* p. 43.

To the same effect we read in the Mormon hymn-book (349):—

“The God that others worship, is not the God for me;  
He has no parts nor body, and cannot hear nor see.”

A local residence is assigned to this anthropomorphic Deity; he lives, we are told, “*in the planet Kolob.*”—(*Seer*, 70. and *XIV.* 531.) Moreover, as he possesses the body and passions of a man, so his relations to his creatures are purely human. Saint Hilary of Poitiers asserts that some Arians attacked orthodoxy by the following argument:—“*Deus pater non erat, quia neque ei filius; nam si filius, necesse est ut et fœmina sit.*”—(*Tril. adv. Const.*) The conclusion thus stated as an absurdity in the fourth century, the Mormons embrace as an axiom in the nineteenth. “*In mundi primordiis, Deo erat fœmina,*” is an article of their creed.—(*P. O.* p. 1. and p. 15.; also *Seer*, i. 38. and 103.) No existence is “created;” all beings are “begotten.” So the Prophet tells us in his “last sermon” (p. 62):—“God never did have power to create the spirit of man at all. The very idea lessens man in my estimation. I know better.”

The superiority of the Mormon God over his creatures consists only in the greater power which He has gradually attained by growth in knowledge. He himself originated in “the union of two elementary particles of matter”—(*G.* 49); and by a progressive development reached the human form. Thus we read that—“God, *of course*, was once a man, and from *manhood*, by continual progression, became God; and he

has continued to increase from his manhood to the present time, and may continue to increase without limit. And man also may continue to increase in knowledge and power as fast as he pleases."

And again, "If man is a creature of eternal progression, the time must certainly arrive when he will know as much as God now knows."—(XIV. 386.)

This is in strict accordance with the following words of Joseph Smith:—"The weakest child of God which now exists upon the earth will possess more dominion, more property, more subjects, and more power and glory, than is possessed by Jesus Christ or by his Father; while at the same time they will have their dominion, kingdom, and subjects increased in proportion."—*M. Star*, vi., quoted in *Morm. Illust.*)

An apostle carries this view into detail as follows:—"What will man do when this world is filled up? Why, he will *make more worlds*, and swarm out like bees from the old world. And when a farmer has cultivated his farm and raised numerous children, so that the space is beginning to be too strait for them, he will say, *My sons, yonder is plenty of matter, go and organise a world, and people it.*"—(*P. Pratt*, in XIV. 663, and *Seer*, 1. 37.)

This doctrine of indefinite development naturally passes into Polytheism. Accordingly, the Mormon theology teaches that there are Gods innumerable, with different degrees of dignity and power. It was revealed to Joseph Smith that the first verse of Genesis originally stood as follows:—"The *Head God* brought forth

*the Gods*, with the heavens, and the earth.”—(XIV. 455.) And the same prophet also tells us (*Ibid.*), that a hundred and forty-four thousand of these gods are mentioned by St. John in the Apocalypse. Moreover, “each God is the God of the spirits of all flesh pertaining to the world which he forms.”—(*Scer*, i. 38.) And it has been lately revealed by the President, that the God of our own planet is Adam (!), who (it seems) was only another form of the Archangel Michael (!) “When our father Adam came into the Garden of Eden, he brought Eve, *one of his wives*, with him. He helped to make and organise this world. He is Michael, the Archangel, the *Ancient of Days*. He is our Father and our God, and *the only God with whom we have to do.*” —(*From Discourses of the Presidency, in XV. 769.*)

It is curious to observe, from such examples, how easily the extremes of materialism and immaterialism may be made to meet. For here we have the rudest form of anthropomorphism connected with a theory of emanation, which might be identified with that of some Gnostic and Oriental idealists. But under its present intellectual guides, Mormonism is rapidly passing into that form of Atheism which is euphemistically termed Pantheism. Thus we read in the Washington organ of the Presidency, that the only thing which has existed from eternity is—“An infinite quantity of *self-moving intelligent matter*. Every particle of matter which now exists, existed in the infinite depths of past duration, and was then capable of self-motion.”—(*Scer*, i. 129.) “There is no substance in the universe which feels and

thinks now, but what has *eternally* possessed that capacity.”—(*Ib.* 102.) “Each individual of the *vegetable* and animal kingdom contains a living spirit, possessed of intelligent capacities.”—(*Ib.* 34.) “Persons are only tabernacles, and *truth* is *the God* that dwells in them. When we speak of only one God, and state that he is eternal, &c., we have no reference to any particular person, but to *truth dwelling in a vast variety of substances*.”—(*Ib.* 25.)

The same authority informs us that every man is an aggregate of as many intelligent individuals as there are elementary particles of matter in his system.—(*Ib.* 103.) And so President Brigham, in a recent sermon, tells his hearers that the reward of the good will be a continual progress to a more perfect organization, and the punishment of the bad will be a “decomposition into the particles that compose the native elements.”—(*B. Young*, in *XV.* 835.)

It is evident that in these latter portions of the Mormon creed we may recognise the speculations of Oken, Fichte, Hegel, and others, filtered through such popularising media as Emerson, Carlyle, Parker, and the “*Vestiges of Creation*.” It would appear that the more startling of these innovations, which date from the last year of Smith’s life, are due to Orson Pratt, the intellectual guide of recent Mormonism, under whose influence Joseph seems to have fallen, after he had quarrelled with Sidney Rigdon.

But, it may be asked, how can this be the theology of a sect which professes to receive the Bible as the



Word of God? The answer is twofold. First, the Mormon writers teach that the Christian Revelation, though authoritative when first given, is now superseded by their own. "The Epistles of the ancient Apostles, Paul, Peter, and John, we must say are dead letters, when compared to the Epistles that are written to the saints in our day by the living priesthood."—(*XIV*. 328.) And the possession of a living source of inspiration enables them to modify, not only the doctrines of the ancient Scriptures, but even the revelations of their own prophets. Thus Polygamy is pronounced in the Book of Mormon to be "abominable before the Lord" (*Jac.* chap. ii. sec. 6); yet it was afterwards authorized in a new revelation by Joseph himself, and is now declared to be the special blessing of the latter covenant. But, secondly, lest this view should not satisfy all scruples, it was revealed to Smith that our present Scriptures have been grievously altered and corrupted, and he was divinely commissioned to make a revised and corrected edition of them. We find from his statement in his autobiography (*XIV*. 422, 451, 452), that he lived to complete this emended Bible. But he never ventured to print it, and it still remains in manuscript among the muniments of the Church. It is to be published as soon as the world is ripe to receive it. Meanwhile some specimens have been given, among which one of the most remarkable is the beginning of Genesis, which we have quoted above.\*

\* Many extracts from this emended Bible have been lately published by Orson Pratt, in the *Seer*. The additions are so numerous as to double the Scriptural text.

The existence of this secret Bible is an example of the Mormon practice of *reserve*, which forms a connecting link between their theological and their ethical system. The doctrines which they teach among the initiated may differ to any extent from those proclaimed to the Gentiles. "If man receives all truths," says their organ—(XV. 507), "he must receive them on a graduated scale. The *Latter Day Saints* act upon this simple, natural principle. Paul had *milk for babes*, and *things unlawful to utter*." (!) The most striking instance of this system of pious fraud is their persevering denial of the charge of polygamy. So boldly did they disavow the practice, that even the careful and accurate author of "*Mormonism Illustrated*" was deceived by their asseverations; and though he states the accusations against them fairly, yet decides that, at least as against Smith, they were unfounded. At length, however, it became necessary to drop the mask. As the population of Utah increased, the practices prevalent there became better known to the world, through multiplying channels of communication. It was useless to repudiate an ordinance which must be so prominent in the first letters of every new citizen of Salt Lake to his English friends. The Church therefore decided that the time was come for publishing to the world the revelation which sanctioned their seraglios. We have already cited that singular document, which Joseph circulated among the initiated in the year before his death. Since its publication, which took place in 1852, the Mormonite leaders have completely thrown off the

veil, and have defended polygamy as impudently as they before denied it. Tracts, dialogues, and hymns are circulated in its behalf. And even the "*pluralistic*" marriage service has been published. The following is an extract from this novel rubric :—"The president [or his deputy\*] calls upon the bridegroom and his [first] wife, and the bride to arise. The [first] wife stands on the left hand of her husband, while the bride stands on the wife's left. The President then says to the [first] wife, *Are you willing to give this woman to your husband, to be his lawful and wedded wife for time and for eternity? If you are, place her right hand within the right hand of your husband.*† The right hands of the bridegroom and bride being thus joined, the [first] wife takes her husband by the left arm, as if in the attitude of walking. The president then asks the man, *Do you, brother M., take sister N. by the right hand, to receive her unto yourself, to be your lawful and wedded wife? . . .* The bridegroom answers, *Yes.* The President then asks the bride, *Do you, sister N., take brother M. and give yourself unto him to be his lawful and wedded wife? &c.* The bride answers, *Yes.* The president then says . .

\* See XV. 215.

† This would at first appear as if the wife possessed a veto. But the official organ informs us in the same article that if the wife refuses to consent to her husband's polygamy, "*then it is lawful for her husband, if permitted by revelation through the Prophet, to be married to others without her consent; and she will be condemned because she did not give them unto him; as Sarah gave Hagar unto Abraham, and as Rachael and Leah gave Bilhah and Zilpah unto Jacob.*"—(See also XV. 215.)

. . . *By the authority of the holy priesthood, I pronounce you legally and lawfully [sic] husband and wife for time and for all eternity. And I seal upon you the blessings of the holy resurrection, with power to come forth in the morning of the first resurrection . . . . And I seal upon you . . . . the blessings of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and say unto you, be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth. . . . The benediction follows; and the scribe then enters the marriage on the record.*"—(*Seer*, i. 31.)

It should be added, that the President possesses the Papal prerogative of annulling all marriages contracted under his sanction;\* a prerogative which cannot fail to prove a source of wealth and power. As to marriages celebrated without his authority, they are *ipso facto* void, *in foro conscientiæ*. Consequently either man or woman is at liberty to desert an unbelieving spouse, and take another. An example of this occurred last year in a Welsh village, with which we are well acquainted. An old woman of sixty was converted by the Mormons, and persuaded to emigrate. She had a blind husband, seventy years of age, who entirely depended on her care. The neighbours cried shame on her for deserting her conjugal duties. The clergyman of the parish, and even her landlord the Squire, remonstrated in vain. She declared that "the Lord had called her to come to Zion," and that it was revealed to her that when she reached Deseret she should be restored to youth, or (as she expressed it) "she should get a new

\* See *G.* 70, and *S.* 136.

skin." And she unblushingly avowed her intention of being sealed to another husband, and bearing "a young family" in America. The end of the story is tragic. The deserted husband died of a broken heart a fortnight after his wife's departure; and the old woman herself expired before she reached New Orleans, leaving the surplus of her outfit in the hands of her seducers.

It may easily be imagined that the public announcement of these matrimonial innovations excited much opposition, not only among believers but also among the saints, and particularly among their wives. Even in Utah itself it seems that the customs of Constantinople are not popular with the fair sex. Lieutenant Gunnison tells us that "he placed the subject before a young lady in its practical light," and asked her, "if she would consent to become Mrs. Blank, No. 20? or if, though ranking as No. 1, she would be contented, when the first flush of beauty had departed, to have her husband call at her domicile, and introduce his last bride, No. 17?" The subject, says the Lieutenant, was cut short by the reply, "No, Sir, I would die first." In England, as might be expected, the resistance has been more open and decided. One of the most amusing publications to which the controversy has given rise is a "Dialogue between Nelly and Abby," published in the weekly organ of Mormonism. Nelly is a rebellious saint, and opens the discussion by addressing her more submissive cousin as follows:—"Dear Cousin Abby, I have been very anxious to see you, ever since I heard of the *new revelation*. I know that nothing has

come up yet in this Church that could stumble you. [think now, when your John comes to get two or more wives, you will feel as keenly as any of us." believing Abby replies, by expressing her sorrow that her cousin's mind is "so fluttered" with the revelation. For her own part, she has "never wavered at any of the doctrines of the Church, because they all seem so pure." In condescension, however, to her weakness, she proceeds to explain fully the reasons which have led her to surrender the exclusive possession of "her John." These are resisted by her for some time. She cannot see "what wisdom" is in "being tied to her George with a lot of other women, who can flatter and simper, and make him do anything they please." But at last she also is convinced, and exclaims, "I am sorry I ever burnt the revelation! I would not have done it for the world if I had known as much as I do now." She cannot help, however, adding a proviso, "Well, if George does take another, I should like him to take my sister Anne, for her temper is so obliging and mild."\*

The arguments by which the Mormon writers justify the adoption of these Oriental usages are principally drawn from the Old Testament. The pamphlet on "Polygamy and the Plurality of Wives," at the head of our Article, informs us that the Latter Day Saints have restored "the order which God established with Abraham and his patriarchs."—(*P. O. 1.*) So we have just seen that in the new marriage service polygamy is designated

\* See *M. Star*, XV., Nos. 15, 16.

as "the blessing of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." And the Mormon psalmist sings to the same tune—

"I am Zionward bound, where the blessings untold,  
Which Jehovah conferr'd on his servants of old,  
And at which pious Christendom feels so annoy'd,  
In this last dispensation again are enjoy'd."

(XV. 143.)

And so we are warned by Elder Spencer, that—"When a man undervalues this promise he not only shows himself to be destitute of saving faith, but he is very liable to become a *scoffer and mocker of the last days*, speaking evil of such dignities as *Abraham and Brigham*."—(P. O. 12.)

But it would be well if the apologists of polygamy confined themselves to the patriarchal dispensation. For some excuse might then be made for their mistake, considering the vague notions concerning the authority of the Old Testament which prevail among our popular religionists, and remembering that even in our pulpits we too often hear Isaac and Jacob cited as perfect exemplars of Christian life. But when they venture to quote the New Testament in support of their practices, we see at once the impudent dishonesty of the men. The devil has often wrested Scripture to his purpose, but never before with such preposterous perversion and audacious profaneness as that displayed by Joseph Smith and his disciples. One feels indignant, not only at their hypocrisy, but at their folly, in expecting to persuade any one to acquiesce in such palpable distortion of plain words. Thus from the promise that,

whatsoever a man shall leave for the Gospel's sake, *he shall receive an hundred fold* (Mark, x. 29), the Chancellor of the University of Deseret deduces the following question and answer:—"Q. What reward have men who have faith to forsake their rebellious and unbelieving wives in order to obey the commandments of God ?

"A. AN HUNDRED FOLD OF WIVES in this world, and eternal life in the next."—(*P. O.* 16 ; *see also Seer*, 31.)

In the same treatise a carnal interpretation is given to the metaphor which designates the Church as "the bride." But even these monstrous falsifications of scripture are surpassed by the arguments which Mr. Hyde (the present chairman of the Apostolic College) extracts from the Gospel narrative itself.\* Yet, although the omission of these renders our picture of Mormonism incomplete, we really dare not quote blasphemies so revolting; especially when they are combined with absurdity at which the reader, even while he huddled, must be provoked to smile.

Such profane distortion of the sacred writings is the less excusable in the Mormonite divines, because they have the power of fabricating new Scripture whenever they please. This power, indeed, they have freely exercised in defence of their harems. It has been revealed, that the measure of a man's "wealth, power, and dominion" in the world to come will depend upon

\* See Orson Hyde's Letter, published in the [*Mormon*] *Guardian*, and quoted by Mr. Gunnison, p. 68. The same blasphemies are repeated by Orson Pratt in *Seer*, 159, 169.



the number of his wives, all of whom will continue to belong to him after the resurrection, if they have been *sealed* to him by the President. Hence the term *celestial marriage*, which they apply to this connexion. Moreover, the first wife, if submissive, will rank as Queen over all the other concubines. In the tract above quoted Abby explains this to Nelly as follows:—"I appreciate a kind intelligent husband, that is ordained and anointed like unto Abraham, to be king over innumerable myriads of the human family, so highly, that I shall not make myself a widow and servant through all eternity, by opposing what God has clearly revealed by all his prophets since the world began. . . . The great question is this. Will we unite with the *plurality order* of ancient patriarchs, or will we consent to be doomed to eternal celibacy? This is the true division of the question. One or the other we must choose. We cannot be married to our husbands for eternity without subscribing to the law that admits a plurality of wives. . . . If your George and you should be alone, by the side of such a king as Abraham or Solomon, with all his queens, and their numerous servants and waiting maids in courtly livery, would he not look like a mere rushlight by the side of such suns? . . . Besides, a queen, to him that has his hundreds of wives in eternity, with children as numberless as the stars of heaven, would receive intelligence, honour, and dominion, in some measure proportioned to the exaltation of her husband; while your George, *not having much to look after besides you*, could not demand the same me-

sure of wealth, honour, and dominion ; because he could use upon you and your little family but a small pittance of what pertains to one moving in a wider and more exalted sphere.

*"Nelly.* But do you mean to say, Abby, that if I am not married according to God's order before the resurrection, that I shall always have to remain single, and also be your servant, or the servant of some one that is married according to that order?

*"Abby.* That is what God has most clearly revealed in many scriptures."

This contingent Queenship, however, will be subject to the husband's appointment, and the reversionary interest therein often creates rivalry in the establishment. Mr. Gunnison was informed at Salt Lake that Brigham Young had a wife who died before she became a Mormon, but has since been saved by vicarious baptism, and that the first of his present wives frequently teases her husband by inquiring whether she herself or her predecessor will be his Queen in the world to come. —(G. 77.)

Besides the arguments above mentioned in favour of polygamy, derived from Revelation, others are deduced from reason and expediency. The chief of these is, that the Oriental system will remedy the immorality in which Europe is now sunk. So corrupt is society at present, especially in England, that not only are there "a hundred thousand prostitutes in London," but also that the "haunts of vice" are constantly frequented by those who are specially ordained to be the guardians of public

morality, "by parsons, and *even bishops in disguise*."—(XV. 244.) This foul and wide-spread pollution would be cured by polygamy, for under that institution no female would be driven to vice by the want of a legitimate protector. "Don't you think," says Nelly, in the tract before cited, "that the hundred thousand unfortunate females in London would much rather have such husbands [*i. e.* husbands shared with several other wives] than lead out their present miserable short lives as they do?"

Again it is urged that the "Patriarchal Order" will soon be rendered necessary by an excess of females over males, which is to result from the destructive wars now impending over the world. A passage in Isaiah is interpreted as prophesying that this excess will be in the proportion of seven to one.

Farther, the system of plurality is desirable as rewarding good men and punishing bad men, for the good will be selected as husbands by many wives, while the bad will be accepted by none. "How many virtuous females," says Chancellor Spencer, "would prefer to *unite* their destinies to one and the same honourable and virtuous man, rather than to *separate* their destinies each to an inferior vicious man? Shall such virtuous and innocent females be denied the right to choose the objects of their love?"—(P. O. 2.)

Moreover, far from causing discord among women, this patriarchal institution "is calculated to dispel jealousy."

"For instance, in this country three young women all

the same young man. Being rivals, it is natural they should hate each other in exact proportion as they love the young man; because they know that the law would allow him to be married to them all. If polygamy were allowed, this jealousy would not exist, because every woman would know that she could be married to the man she loved."—(XV. 660.)

her argument much insisted on is the removal of the impediment which now hinders the conversion of heathen. This is illustrated by the following story, which we find constantly repeated in the Mormon Apologies:—"A Dakotah Indian offered for baptism to some Presbyterian missionaries. When they questioned he said, that he had several wives. They told him that he could not be baptized while he had more than one. The heathen went away, and in a few months renewing his request. He again questioned how many wives he had. One answered him. '*What had he done with all the others?*' He answered *them*, was the reply."—(XV. 147.)

In the tone taken by the Mormon advocates of polygamy, it would seem as if the practice must prevail among them extensively. For, otherwise, we cannot understand why they should represent it to the poor in popular tracts as a state so desirable, that a man with only one wife must be precluded from the higher degree of happiness in the life to come. Yet, on the other hand, it is hard to conceive how any but the poorer members of the community can indulge in so great a luxury. However this may be, it is certain

from the evidence of such credible witnesses as Captain Stansbury and Lieutenant Gunnison, that the great officers of the Church maintain seraglios on a scale truly Oriental. The latter informs us (p. 120) that the three members of the Presidency had, when he was in Utah, no less than eighty-two wives between them, and that one of the three "was called an old bachelor, because he had only a baker's dozen." And Captain Stansbury describes the "*numerous family*" of the President as mingling freely in the balls, parties, and other social amusements of the place.

The delightful effects of this practice on the domestic felicity of Utah are thus described by one of the organs of Mormonism:—"Each wife knows that the other wives are as much entitled to the attention of the husband as she herself; she knows that such attentions are not criminal, therefore she does not lose confidence in him; though she may consider him partial, in some respects, yet she has the consolation to know that his attentions towards them are strictly virtuous."—(*See*, i. 125.) And again—

"There is no particular rule as regards the residence of the different branches of a family. It is very frequently the case that they all reside in the same dwelling, and take hold unitedly, with the greatest cheerfulness, of the different branches of household or domestic business; eating at the same table, and kindly looking after each others' welfare, while the greatest peace and harmony prevail year after year. Their children play and associate together with the greatest affection as

brothers and sisters, *while each mother apparently manifests as much kindness and tender regard for the children of the others as for her own.*"—(*Seer*, i. 42.)

This last result of the system is so unquestionably miraculous, that it is almost sufficient of itself to convert an unbelieving world. Notwithstanding such evidence, however, the Gentile Gunnison presumes to speak unfavourably of the effects of this sacred ordinance. He thinks that it leads to the depression of women, and tells us that they are disrespectfully treated by the "saints," as an inferior order of beings:—"Gentile gallantry" (says he) "is declared by the Mormons to have reversed the natural position of the sexes. To give the post of honour or of comfort to the lady is absurd. If there is but one seat they say it of right belongs to the gentleman, and it is the duty and place of a man to lead the way, and let his fair partner enter the room behind him."—(*G.* 157.)

He also speaks of polygamy as "the great cause of disruption in families," and affirms that the children are "the most lawless and profane of all that have come under his observation."

We have already spoken of the legal and political consequences which may probably arise from this custom. We may add, that it can scarcely fail to contain the seeds of internal discontent. For the industrious inhabitants of Utah must find out before long that by the toil of their own sinews they are maintaining the sumptuous harems of their chiefs. Nor is it possible that in a new colony the female population can be suffi-

ciently abundant to allow this Eastern luxury to the powerful without compelling many of the poor to remain unwedded. Already, indeed, one of the toasts at a recent public dinner in Utah—" *Wanted immediately more ladies !*"—seems to indicate dissatisfaction.

We cannot leave this part of our subject without mentioning that a graver charge than that of polygamy has been brought against the Mormon leaders. The depositions published by their opponents at Nauvoo accused them, not of openly adding to their domestic establishment, but of secretly corrupting female virtue, under the pretext of *spiritual marriage*. An affidavit made by one Martha Brotherton details very circumstantially an attempt made by Brigham Young to seduce her under this pretence. We are inclined to believe her statement, because she explicitly refers to Joseph's "new revelation," which was at that time carefully concealed from all but the initiated. Nor are there wanting intimations in the documents already published by the Church that something more is behind. Thus the first revelation on polygamy concludes with the following promise: "As pertaining unto this law, verily I say unto you, *I will reveal more unto you hereafter.*"—(XV. 8.) And so we read in the "Star" (XV. 91), "Ours is a *progressive* system, and we must progress with it, or be left behind. If you are found obedient to counsel, nothing will stumble you, neither *spiritual wifeism*, nor any thing else."

Nevertheless, if such secret privileges are permitted to the Mormon chiefs, they must be used with extreme

1. Even the sacred character of an Apostle hardly save him from the vengeance of an injured and, accustomed to the summary proceedings of an ecclesiastical jurisprudence. Last year a Mormon of the name of Egan was brought to trial for murdering the father of his wife, and (though admitting the fact) acquitted by a Utah jury. Nor, whatever may be the character of the leaders, can we hesitate to believe the most unanimous testimony of travellers to the immorality of the population. Indeed, the labor and successful industry which we have described do not characterize a debauched and licentious

have dwelt at some length on the Mormon polygamy, not only on account of its intrinsic importance, but because its disclosure is so recent that previous writers have been unable to give accurate information on the subject. The ethical teaching of the sect is not distinguished by any other very remarkable peculiarity. The chief duty impressed upon the saints is the punctilious payment of their tithes. We can scarcely open a volume of their official publications without finding strenuous exhortation to the fulfilment of that indispensable obligation. Next to this cardinal virtue, they seem to attach the merit of abstinence from fermented liquors and tobacco. This, however, is not absolutely insisted on, but only urged as a "precept of wisdom." It was embodied by Joseph, whose practice did not square with the precepts, as he was often drunk himself. But his contemporaries perceived that the money squandered by his



disciples on gin and cigars must be diverted from the treasury of the Church.

The virtue of patriotism is also a frequent theme of Mormon eulogy. By publicly enjoining it, they endeavour to refute the charges of treason so often brought against them by their enemies. Hence the anniversary of the 4th of July (the birthday of American independence) is celebrated with special jubilation in the city of Salt Lake, and the tree of liberty is duly refreshed with torrents of rhetoric, and also with more material libations. The official list of toasts given at one of the last of these festivities, shows that the citizens cling with equal attachment to the "domestic institutions" of Virginia and of Deseret; for the 12th toast is *Slavery*, and the 13th *Polygamy*.\* The 15th, which, we suppose, is meant to point the moral of the other two, is "THE GREAT NATIONAL MOTTO,— '*Do unto others as you would have others do unto you.*'"

Such festive meetings, which are very frequent, generally conclude with dancing, an exercise, the practice of which must be also included in the ethical system of Mormonism. In saltatorial, as in military movements, the priesthood occupy the foremost place. The president leads off, and bishops, patriarchs, and elders are to be seen figuring enthusiastically, "not"

\* The 13th toast is printed as follows: "Poly-Ticks and Poly-Gamy;" a piece of wit which seems to have been highly appreciated.—(XIV. 566.) With regard to slavery, it should be observed that according to Joseph's revelations, the negroes are of an inferior race, and that no person of colour can be admitted into the Church.—(XIV. 472.)

says Colonel Kane, "in your minuets or other mortuary processions of Gentles, but in jigs and reels." When the temple is completed, these public dances are to form part of the regular worship.

But the most remarkable feature in the practical working of Mormonism, considered as a Religion, is the almost entire absence of the *devotional* element. In the addresses of its teachers, we find no exhortation to the duties of private prayer, of self-examination, or of penitence. In their writings we can trace no aspirations after communion with God, after spirituality of mind, after purification of the affections. All is of the earth, all is of the flesh. One of the ablest writers against Christianity has lately stated it as his chief objection to the Christian System, that it discourages the love of earthly things, and requires its votaries to set their affections on things above. He proposes to amend the precept of saint John—"Love not the world, and the things that are in the world; the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life"—by simply leaving out the word *not*. Mormonism seems exactly to realize the ideal of this distinguished controversialist; and, as he does not mention it as one of the phases through which Christianity has hitherto passed, we cannot but hope that we may still find among the *Latter Day Saints* that resting-place which he tells us that he vainly sought among the *Craig-and-Mullerites*.

This mundane character of Mormonism faithfully perpetuates the type impressed on it by its founder. Joseph Smith was a "jolly fellow," says one of his

admirers, and not in the least *methodistical*. "His was a laughter-loving, cheerful religion," says Mr. Gunnison. The General Epistles of the "Church" exemplify the same peculiarity. The Gospel which they proclaim consists of directions for emigration, instructions for the setting up of machinery, the management of iron-works, the manufacture of nails, the spinning of cotton-yarn, and the breeding of stock. The same undevo-tional aspect is exhibited by their public worship, at least in Utah; for in Europe reserve is used, and their practice assimilated to that of other sects. The service begins with instrumental music, the band performing "anthems, marches, and *waltzes*;" "which," says Mr. Gunnison eulogistically, "drives away all sombre feelings." An extempore prayer follows, which invokes blessings on the president, officers, and members of the Church, and curses upon their enemies. Then comes a discussion, in which any one may speak. This part of the service is usually a conversation on local business, like that in an English vestry meeting. The sermon follows; but even that is not confined to religious exhortation, but embraces such questions as the discipline of the Legion, the Californian gold-digging, and the politics of the Territory. The most curious specimen of these discourses which we have discovered is the following, which we take from the official report:—"Elder George Smith was called upon to preach an iron sermon. He rose and took into the stand [pulpit] one of the fire-irons [the first productions of the Utah foundries.] Holding the same over his head, he cried

*Stereotype edition,* and descended amid the cheers of saints. The choir then sung the doxology, and benediction was pronounced by Lorenzo Snow."—492.) This kind of religious service would be the aspirations of Mr. Carlyle himself, whose lengthy sermons on the text *laborare est orare* was condensed into pantomime by "Elder George."

The Mormon collection of hymns, which we have mentioned at the head of this Article, might lead to an impression of the religion different from that which we have here given. But when we come to examine it, we find, in the first place, that it is published for the use of the congregations; and, secondly, that nine-tenths of the hymns (including all which possess the slightest devotional or poetical) are stolen from the collection in use among English Protestants, especially from Wesleyan hymn-book. The few original compositions which Mormonism has produced are execrable, without taste and feeling. In addition to the samples we have already given, we may add the following:—

#### JOSEPH'S APOTHEOSIS.

(AIR.—"*The sea! The sea! The open sea!*")

"He's free! He's free! The Prophet's free!

He is where he will ever be.

His home's in the sky; he dwells with *the Gods*;

Far from the furious rage of mobs.

He died, he died, for those he loved.

He reigns, he reigns, in the realms above."

(*Hymns*, 338.)

## SAME SUBJECT.

"Hail to the Prophet ascended to heaven,  
 Traitors and tyrants now fight him in vain;  
 Mingling *with Gods* he can plan for his brethren;  
 Death cannot conquer the hero again.

"Praise to his memory! he died as a martyr!  
 Honoured and blest be his ever great name!  
 Long shall his blood, which was shed by assassins,  
 Stain Illinois, while the earth lauds his fame.

"Sacrifice brings forth the blessings of heaven,  
 Earth must atone for the blood of that man;  
 Wake up the world for the conflict of justice,  
 Millions shall know brother Joseph again."

(*Ibid.* 325.)

## THE DEEDS OF JOSEPH.

"Who took the plates the angel showed?  
 And brought them from their dark abode?  
 And made them plain by power of God?  
 The prophet Joseph Smith.

"Who did receive the power to raise  
 The Church of Christ in latter days?  
 And call on men to mend their ways?  
 The prophet Joseph Smith.

"Who bore the scorn, the rage, the ire,  
 Of those who preach for filthy hire?  
 Was called by them impostor, liar?  
 The prophet Joseph Smith.

(XIV. 304.)

We must not forget that the whole fabric which we have hitherto described, both doctrinal, ethical, and liturgical, might be changed at once by a new revelation uttered by the president of the Church. The only

ion to his power is the necessity of securing the of his followers, which, though not theoretically al, is practically indispensable. Loss of popular support of necessity entail dethronement. We have observed the skill with which the Mormon hierarchy is constructed, so as to enlist in its service all available talent of the sect, and thus to guard as possible against the danger of rebellion. We do not recapitulate the long list of names by which various grades are designated. The quaintness of all these gives, at first sight, an air of ridicule to the whole; but, however ludicrous the nomenclature, the organization itself is too skilful to be ridiculous. Supreme authority is nominally in "*the Presidency*," which consists of the President and his two Councillors. In reality, the First President is sole monarch, for his orders, though they may remonstrate, have no effect in resisting his decrees. The President himself, according to Smith's statement (*XV. 13*) is "*appointed by revelation*," and "*acknowledged by the voice of the church*." But Brigham Young has modified this doctrine, by announcing that, although constituted chief by revelation, he holds the office of *President* by the choice of the people.—(*XV. 488*.) And, in fact, that he be sustained in his office is passed at every General Conference. It would seem, therefore, to be practically possible that the divinely-appointed "Seer, Prophet, and Revelator," might be deposed by the people. But the exact limits which define the powers

of President and Conference are left as indeterminate as in the similar case of Pope and General Council. Another Change effected under the administration of Young has been, the assumption by the Apostolic College of a paramount authority unknown to the original constitution. Many of the apostles, however, are generally absent from head-quarters on missionary journeys, and the acting senate is a council of twelve, selected from among the high priests. The *Bishops* are financial officers, employed in the collection of the tithe. The *Patriarchs* are charged with the special function of pronouncing benedictions on individuals. Joseph Smith, senior, the Prophet's father, was formerly Patriarch, and, even in the early days of Mormon poverty, received for this service ten dollars a week (more than 100*l.* a year), and "his expenses found."—(XV. 308.) The present chief Patriarch (John Smith, an uncle of Joseph's,) no doubt gets better pay, and we see that the unhappy old man has lately published a solemn affirmation of the truth of his nephew's miracles.—(XIV. 97.)

In subordination to these higher officers is a great variety of minor functionaries, each of whom, from the lowest to the highest, has a direct interest in strengthening the hierarchical government, in which he holds a place, and by which he may mount, as his present superiors have mounted, from poverty to wealth, and from contempt to power. Thus all work zealously together in maintaining ecclesiastical discipline, and (to use the

words of one of them) enforce upon the people "*the importance of being governed by the Priesthood in all things.*"

—(XIV. 294.)

But whatever may be the merits of such an organization, its continued success must depend in great measure on the character of its Head. The Jesuits would never have reconquered Europe for the Pope, had not the first three or four generals of the Order been men of eminent ability. Mormonism would probably have perished after the death of Smith, had the Apostles shown less sagacity in their selection of their present chief. Brigham Young was the son of a farmer in the Eastern States (XV. 642), and was brought up to the trade of a carpenter. He joined the sect early, and rose to eminence by his serviceable obedience. He is a man of action, not of speculation; distinguished for coarse strength and toughness, physical and moral; and these qualities have been needed for the rough work he has had to do. His first important charge was the mission to England in 1837, when he founded the British Churches. Shortly before that epoch, he was solemnly set apart "to go forth from land to land, and from sea to sea." And we read that "the blessing of Brigham Young was that he should be *strong in body*, that he might go forth and gather the elect."—(Smith's *Autob.* XV. 206.) We have related how, after the death of Smith, he supplanted Rigdon, and rose from the chairmanship of the Apostles to the Presidency, and how wisely he led his followers through the wilderness, and planted them in the land of promise. By his appointment as Governor of the territory of Utah,



his character received the stamp of public approbation from the supreme Government of the United States; whence he reaped also the solid advantage of a salary of 2500 dollars. Besides this official income, he has the uncontrolled management of the ecclesiastical revenues, including the tithing of his subjects, foreign and domestic. We learn, therefore, without surprise, that he has acquired considerable property, and that he is able not only to maintain a suitable establishment and "princely carriages" (G. 63), but also to support a family of forty wives and about a hundred children. His prosperity has excited some jealousy among his people; and we find him, in a recent speech, remonstrating with those who "complain of *me* living upon tithing."—(XV. 161.) But hitherto he has succeeded in suppressing such murmurs by his frank and popular bearing, and by the proofs he has given of indefatigable zeal for the public interest. The official documents which he publishes from time to time, and especially his Messages to the local Legislature, show the illiterate sagacity of the *Rusticus abnormis sapiens*, and exhibit a curious mixture of business-like statement with Yankee bombast. As a specimen of the latter, we may take the following description of the Abolitionist party, from a recent message:—"The fanatical bigot, with the spirit of northern supremacy, seeks to enwrap in sacrilegious flame the altar of his country's liberties, offering an unholy sacrifice which, arising in encircling wreaths of dark and turbid columns, emitting in fitful glare the burning lava, betokens erewhile her consummation."—(XV. 422.)

When opposed, the President is apt to become overbearing and scurrilous. Thus, in his controversy with Judge Brocchus, he tells his correspondent that he is either profoundly ignorant or wilfully wicked—one of the two." "You manifest a choice," he adds, "to have an incensed public in incense [*sic*] still." And further:—"When the spirit of persecution manifests itself in the flippancy of rhetoric for female insult and execration, it is time that I forbear to hold my peace, at the thundering anathemas of nations born and unborn, should rest upon my head, when the marrow of my bones shall be illy [*sic*] prepared to sustain the threatened blow."—(*XIV.* 402.) Yet the President can write better than this, when he restricts himself to his ambitious prose. His correspondence with Dr. Adams, for example (*Ibid.* 213), is a model of shrewd sense, not unmixed with a touch of humour, and shows that he is well able to detect an impostor. This, indeed, is not surprising, on the principle of that ancient rule which prescribes the agents most serviceable in thieftaking.

Next to the President in importance, though not in official rank, stands the Apostle Orson Pratt. As young in action, so Pratt in speculation, is the leader of the sect. Like so many intelligent and half-educated men, he has greedily received the teaching of the modern Pantheistic philosophy from its popular interpreters, American and English. From such sources he has compounded that strange jumble of incongruous dogmas which we have before attempted to describe. Thus he

probably hopes to enlist some recruits from the party of "Young America," who may be induced to swallow the absurdities of Mormonism in a non-natural sense, washed down with a lubricating dose of mysticism. He has himself substantial reasons for his allegiance to the cause. He holds the pleasantest appointment which his Church can bestow upon an intelligent man—being its resident agent at Washington. His official duty (according to the tenor of his diploma) is "to write and publish periodicals and books illustrative of the principles and doctrines of the Church;" and it is his prerogative "to receive and collect tithing of the saints throughout all his field of labour."—(XV. 42.)

His elder brother, Parley Pratt, though individually less prominent than Orson, represents an element of Mormonism far more essential to its success. He may be considered as chief of the Mormon missionaries. The zeal and activity of these emissaries, though it has been much exaggerated, is still remarkable. The Governors of the sect are good judges of character; and it is their plan to select the restless and enterprising spirits, who, perhaps, may threaten disturbance at home, and to utilize their fanaticism, while they flatter their vanity, by sending them as representatives of the Church to distant fields of labour. Their method of establishing a mission in a foreign country is as follows. Amongst their converts, taken at random from the mixed population of the Union, there are natives to be found of every nation in Europe. They select a native of the country which they wish to attack, and join him

a interpreter to the other emissaries whom they are about to despatch to the land of his birth. On arriving at their destination, the missionaries are supported by the funds of the Church, till they can maintain themselves out of the offerings of their proselytes. Meanwhile, they employ themselves in learning the language, and circulating tracts in defence of their creed; and then sit down to the weary task of translating the "Book of Mormon."

By this process, they have formed churches in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Malta, Gibraltar, Hindostan, Australia, and the Sandwich Islands; and besides these, they have recently sent missionaries to Siam, Ceylon, China, the West Indies, Guiana, and Chili. The "Book of Mormon" has been published in French, German, Italian, Danish, Polynesian, and Welsh. Besides various tracts which are circulated by these missionaries, they have established regular periodicals in French, Welsh, and Danish.\* We should observe, however, that of the missions above enumerated, the first and last (those to Denmark and the Sandwich Islands) have alone been really successful. In Denmark, at the beginning of 1853, they possessed 1400 baptized converts, and had also despatched 297 more to Utah. In the Sandwich Islands they had baptized 589, before their mission had been established twelve months.

\* Namely, "Le Reflecteur," published monthly, at Lausanne; the "Udgorn Seion," weekly, at Merthyr; and the "Skandinaviens Særne," twice a month, at Copenhagen.

These proselytes were all previously Christians, converted from heathenism by American missionaries. The other foreign missions have as yet only succeeded in making a very small number of proselytes. The accounts published by their founders are often exceedingly absurd. Among the most grotesque is the record of the Italian mission, by the apostle, Lorenzo Snow. He begins by informing us that he sailed from Southampton to a place called "*Avre de grace*." In due time he reached the valleys of the Waldenses, "who have received many privileges from the Sardinian Government." With him were three other Mormons—the first, an Americo-Sicilian; the second an Englishman; and the third, a Scotchman. The four met on a hill in Piedmont, which they named *Mount Brigham*. They record their proceedings in the style of a Yankee public meeting, as follows:—

"*Moved by Elder Snow*—That the Church of Latter Day Saints be now organized in Italy. *Seconded and carried.*

"*Moved by Elder Stenhouse*—That Elder Snow, of the quorum of twelve apostles, be sustained President of the Church in Italy. *Seconded and carried.*

"*Moved by Elder Snow*—That Elder Stenhouse be Secretary of the Church in Italy. *Seconded and carried.*"

Thus was formed the "Church of Italy," which contained at the time of its formation not a single Italian member. Its founders boast, however, that they have contrived to deceive the Roman Catholic authorities, by

publishing a Tract under the title of "The Voice of Joseph," with a woodcut of a Nun for frontispiece, and a vignette of the Cross upon the title-page. Under these false colours, they hope soon to win their way.

But Great Britain is the true theatre of Mormon triumph. An official census is published half-yearly, whence we learn that in July, 1853, the British Saints amounted to 30,690, and contained 40 "*Seventies*," 10 *High Priests*, 2578 *Elders*, 1854 *Priests*, 1416 *Teachers*, and 834 *Deacons*.\* Thus one-fifth of the whole number are invested with some official function.

\* The most numerous Church in England is that of Manchester, which contains 3166 members; the next is that of Glamorganshire, which contains 2338, mostly at Merthyr. In the Report on religious worship by Mr. Horace Mann, which has lately appeared under the auspices of Mr. Graham, the Registrar-General, as superintendent of the Census, there is an account of the Mormons, p. cvi.—cxii., from which we extract the following passage:—"In England and Wales there were, in 1851, reported by the Census officers, as many as 222 places of worship, belonging to this body: most of them, however, being merely rooms. The number of sittings in these places (making an allowance for 53, the accommodation in which was not returned) was 30,783. The attendance on the Census Sunday (making an estimated addition for 9 chapels, from which no intelligence on this point was received) was: Morning, 7517; Afternoon, 11,481; Evening, 16,628. The preachers, it appears, are far from unsuccessful in their efforts to obtain disciples; the surprising confidence and zeal with which they promulgate their creed, the prominence they give to the exciting topics of the speedy coming of the Saviour, and his personal millennial reign, and the attractiveness to many minds of the idea of an infallible church, relying for its evidences and its guidance upon revelations made perpetually to its rulers, these, with other influences, have combined to give the Mormon movement a position and importance with the working classes, which, perhaps, should draw to it much more than it has yet received of the attention of our public teachers."

We may add, that 25,000 copies of the "Millennial Star," the Mormon organ, are sold weekly.

To explain the causes of this success, gained by the preachers of a superstition so preposterous, is a most important part of our task. Yet it needs no long investigation, for these causes are not difficult to detect. In the first place, it may be laid down as an axiom that every impostor may at once obtain a body of disciples large enough to form the nucleus of a sect, provided he be endowed with sufficient impudence. This is true not only of religious empirics, but of all speculators on human credulity. What quack ever failed to sell his pills, if he mixed them with the proper quantum of mendacity? The homœopathist, the spirit-rapper, and the phrenologist, each attracts his clique of believers. All this is only an illustration of the Hudibrastic maxim,—

"Because the pleasure is as great  
In being cheated as to cheat."

In religion, Joseph Smith has had many predecessors, no less successful than himself. The German Anabaptists, who resembled him both in their pretensions to inspiration, and in their practice of polygamy, held temporary sway over cities larger than Nauvoo. Not many years are past since Joanna Southcote persuaded thousands to accept her as a New Messiah. Nay, even now, the *Agapemone* of Bridgwater is full of crazy fanatics, who maintain an impostor, more blasphemous than Brigham, in a state as princely as that of the President of Utah. The weakness of credulity in some

the strength of madness in others, ensures to every fraudulent pretender the fulcrum which he needs. The latter cause, indeed, has no doubt contributed the corner-stone to many Mormon churches besides that of Hamburg ; the founder of which ingenuously confesses, " the woman whom I baptized first here was in the madhouse for a long time. She was possessed by an evil spirit for fourteen years."

Thus a heap of materials lies ever ready for the torch of the religious incendiary. But in general the straw and stubble burns out as quickly as it kindles ; and even if a few ashes continue to smoulder (as, for instance, there are still a few Southcotians), yet the flame has died away. But Mormonism has already outlived this ephemeral stage of sectarian existence, and, after twenty years of growth, is now more vigorous than ever. The first and most important cause of its permanent power, is its claim to possess a living prophet and a continuous inspiration. Its votaries tell us that they are not left, like other men, in anxious uncertainty, but are guided in every step by the audible voice and visible hand of God. In every age there are multitudes who would gladly suffer the moral problems of life to be solved for them by an outward authority. And an age remarkable for religious earnestness will be especially exposed to the seductions of those who pretend to reveal to it with definite accuracy the will of Heaven. The most conspicuous example of this in our days has been the conversion of so many truth-seeking men to the Church of Rome. We have



all heard their enthusiastic description of their present happiness contrasted with their former distress. Once they were compelled to grope their way in darkness, or only lighted by the dim lamp of duty, and the disputed precepts of Scripture. Now they have emerged into the clear sunshine of heavenly day, and have only to obey, at every turn, the voice which cries so clearly, "*this is the way, walk ye in it.*" But these converts have been chiefly confined to the higher classes. Englishmen in the lower and less educated ranks are seldom allured to the Church of Rome; being repelled from it by a feeling of its anti-national character, and by the appearance of idolatry in its ceremonial. The bold pretensions of a Protestant sect to more than Roman infallibility, satisfy their longing for religious certainty, without shocking their hereditary instincts. The power of such an attraction is proved by the fact that even the Irvingite Church still possesses congregations in many large towns, although its claims to miraculous gifts have become faint and hesitating, and its members are not proselytising fanatics, but quiet and unobtrusive dreamers. The Mormonites are of a very different temper. Eager and impatient to propagate their sect, peremptory in their demand of obedience, unscrupulous in their assertions, and unhesitatingly promising absolute assurance to their proselytes. By their revelations, their miracles, and their prophecies, faith is changed into sight. So their organ tells us—"Latter Day Saints KNOW that the Lord has spoken in this age. They KNOW that angels do now converse with men.

They **KNOW** that the gifts of the Holy Ghost are manifested in these days by dreams, visions, revelations, tongues, prophecies, miracles, healings. Latter Day Saints have come to a **KNOWLEDGE** of the truth.”—(XIV. 444.)

Secondly, the success of Mormonism is due to its organization, which has enabled it to employ the obedience of its votaries to the best advantage. The submission rendered to a voice which men believe divine, supplies a motive force of unlimited power; and when this is applied by well-constructed machinery, the results which may be effected are almost incalculable. When the energies of masses are directed by a single mind, wonders will be accomplished, even though (as often happens in military achievements) the service is rendered with sullen indifference or extorted by compulsion. But when the obedience is the obedience of the will, and when the unity of action is blended with a unity of heart and purpose, the results of such a concentration of moral force upon any given point are not more really surprising than the raising of the Menai bridge by the hydrostatic paradox.

Thirdly, we may attribute the welcome which Mormonism has met from our working classes to the prevalence of discontent among the poor against the rich. The repinings of labour against capital, which have covered England with strikes and Europe with barricades, are at once sanctioned and consoled by the missionaries of the “Saints.” They invite their hearers to fly from oppression to that happy land where the poor

are lords of the soil, where no cruel millowners can trample on the "rights of labour," where social inequalities are unknown, and where all the citizens are united by the bonds of a universal brotherhood and a common faith. In the minutes of a recent "General Conference" we read that "Elder Taylor related a conversation which he had held with a French Communist, wherein he proved that the Saints have done all which the French Communists have failed to establish."—(XV. 389.) And certainly they may appeal with just pride to the contrast presented by Nauvoo in its decay with the flourishing city which they abandoned. For M. Cabet's Socialists (its present possessors) have been unable even to preserve from ruin the farms and workshops which Mormon industry had left ready to their hands. To such promises of substantial comfort these skilful propagandists add glowing pictures of the millennial glories which are soon to dawn on "Zion;" gratifying, yet surpassing, the aspirations after a "good time coming," which fill the dreams of their democratic converts.

Another, and perhaps not the least influential, aid to Mormon proselytism, is the adaptation of their materialising theology to the system taught by the extreme section of popular Protestantism. That Judaizing spirit which would supersede the New Testament by the Old; which imposes Mosaic ordinances as Christian laws; which turns even the new dispensation into a string of verbal shibboleths;\* prepares the mind for the corre-

\* We have often regretted that Coleridge should have applied Lessing's term of *Bibliolatry* (a word sure to be misrepresented) to

z dogmas of Mormonism. But while the Mor-  
 uchers fall in with this popular system, they  
 it its carnal views to a more logical develop-  
 Thus they have pushed its Judaizing tenden-  
 we have seen) into actual Judaism. And even  
 scarding the morality of the New Testament,  
 nd their hierarchy on the most servile adherence  
 tter; and maintain that any departure from its  
 ature in the designations of ecclesiastical officers  
 nsible. It is instructive to observe how easily  
 malism, which is usually regarded as pre-  
 ly Protestant, blends with their Romanising  
 ion of a magic power to outward rites, an in-  
 sanctity to earthly temples, and an efficacious  
 to offerings for the dead; for, in truth, these  
 modes of substituting a formal for a spiritual  
 , whether patronised by Pope or Presbyter, are  
 verse manifestations of the same idolatrous su-  
 on.

are the principal causes which explain the rapid  
 of this singular sect. But we do not believe  
 efficient to secure its permanent stability; for, in  
 t place, when the necessity for increasing the  
 ion of Utah has passed away, the zeal for pro-  
 1 which it has bred must burn less warmly.  
 ly, that agglomeration of the sect upon a single  
 hich, up to a certain point, gives strength and

lency of popular religionism. *Grammatolatry* would have  
 etter word for that against which St. Paul protests as  
 ἡ γραμματεία.

centralization, contains also an element of weakness; for it makes the Church of Mormon local instead of catholic, and tends to restrict the converts to that small number who intend to emigrate. Thirdly, the success of the leaders in rendering the government of Utah theocratic may ultimately prove suicidal. At present the democracy is merged in the theocracy. Even the members of the Legislature, nominally elected by universal suffrage, are really named by the President, and returned without a contest. But this very blending of the two elements of sovereignty tends to confound the one with the other. By a gradual change in the public sentiment, the Church might be swallowed up in the State; the forms might remain while the spirit was extinct; the hierarchy of Apostles and Elders might continue nominally supreme, but might become a body of mere civil functionaries; for it will be remembered that every ecclesiastical appointment is at present submitted twice a year to a popular vote. Thus even the office of President itself might, without any revolutionary change, pass quietly into an elective magistracy. Again, there is a possibility of disruption upon the death of every President. It may not always happen, as after Smith's murder, that the whole Church will support a single candidate. And (as we have already shown) the rules which fix the mode of appointment are contradictory. Lastly, we are told by those who have resided in Utah, that the younger citizens do not inherit the faith of their fathers.\* A race is growing up which

\* G. 160.

laughs at the plates and prophecies of Joseph. This is the symptom of a natural reaction; the credulity of one generation followed by the scepticism of the next. Meanwhile, as wealth increases, so will instruction and intelligence; and since no educated man can really believe the silly fables of Mormonism, and only a small minority can be bribed to profess a faith which they do not feel, the unbelief of the more enlightened must ultimately descend to the masses. When this happens, the theocracy must be violently broken up; unless it should be peaceably metamorphosed (as we have supposed above) into a form of civil government.

In such a case, the residuary religion of Mormonism would probably take its place among Christian sects, alongside of Swedenborgianism and Irvingism. It would easily rid itself of its more Antichristian features, by the issue of new revelations, which should supersede those of Rigdon and Brigham. The abandonment of polygamy would do less violence to the system than its introduction; for it was originally forbidden; and its subsequent permission might be explained as a temporary privilege, granted to the saints, martyrs, and apostles, who suffered and bled for the faith. The book of "Doctrines and Covenants" is mostly of so ephemeral a character, that it might easily be suffered to drop into oblivion. Thus a belief in the Book of Mormon might be left, as the only distinctive symbol of the sect; a belief which would not more affect their practice than if they believed in the history of Jack the Giant Killer.

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task, we may console ourselves with the recollection that it works in fetters, and that vital circulation may yet be restored to organs frozen by a forced inaction. For it can never be more difficult to loose than to bind; and though it might be impossible to create, it is easy to emancipate.

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## POSTSCRIPT.

While these sheets were going through the press, the following extract from the "New York Herald" was received, as an illustration of the above account:—

"THE MORMONITES.—The last advices from the desert give very favourable accounts of the colony which has planted itself on the shores of Lake Utah, in order to found the New Zion. Governor Young has established relations with the Indians, and has bound the Saints to live in good understanding with the savages. The *Deseret News* publishes some letters written by a Saint to her sister in New Hampshire. "I am happy, very happy," she writes, "and I live agreeably to the will of the Lord. My husband has six other wives, whom he loves equally, and whom I esteem as sisters. Our children, united, are twenty-four in number."—*New York Herald*.

THE END.

L O N D O N

IN

1850—1851.

FROM THE GEOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY

OF

J. R. M'CULLOCH, ESQ.



LONDON:

ONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.

1851.

LONDON:  
SPOTTISWOODS and SHAW,  
New-street-Square.

# L O N D O N

IN

1850—1851.

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London, the metropolis of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the most populous, wealthy, and commercial city, of which we have any accounts, is situated principally on the north bank of the Thames, in the county of Middlesex, and partly on its south bank, in the county of Surrey, about forty-five miles above the river's mouth at the Nore, and fifteen below the highest tideway. The site on the north side is high and dry, but on the south side it is so low as to be under the level of the highest tide, though by a well-constructed system of drainage it is perfectly free from wet. The subsoil is a hard clay, known generally by the name of London clay, lying in the middle of a great chalk basin, extending from Berkshire to the east.

In several places the clay is covered by thick beds of gravel. Latitude of St. Paul's Cathedral,  $51^{\circ} 30' 48''$  N.; longitude,  $5^{\circ} 48''$  W. Greenwich. Exclusive of the city of London, properly so called, the metropolis comprises the city of London, the boroughs of Tower Hamlets, Southwark, Rotherhithe, and Marylebone, and other contiguous districts, which, formerly distinct, are now combined into one vast mass of cities.

The population of the cities of London and Westminster, and of the five parliamentary boroughs comprised in the metropolis, with the parish of Chelsea, has been as follows, in 1801, 1811, 1821, 1831, and 1841.

Divisions.	1801.	1811.	1821.	1831.	1841.
London, city of -	156,859	120,909	125,434	122,863	120,708
Westminster, city of -	158,210	162,085	182,085	201,842	219,890
Marylebone, borough -	97,642	126,566	174,354	240,294	287,468
Finsbury, borough -	134,616	167,130	201,731	259,123	265,048
Tower Hamlets, borough	184,568	237,487	291,650	357,246	419,730
Chelsea, parish of -	11,604	18,262	26,860	32,371	40,178
Southwark, borough -	94,813	103,763	123,663	134,117	142,680
Lambeth, borough -	49,886	76,806	108,565	160,563	197,412
	888,198	1,013,008	1,234,338	1,508,469	1,693,081

But, exclusive of the cities, boroughs, and parishes comprised in the above table, the metropolis includes Deptford, Greenwich, and sundry other districts; so that its entire population amounted, in 1841, to 1,873,676, and at present (1850) it is probably little, if at all, under 2,100,000; being a greater amount of population than has ever been previously accumulated in the same space.

But some additional suburban districts, including Wandsworth, Clapham, Putney, the union of Lewisham, &c., have been comprised within the metropolitan district, or the bills of mortality, by the Registrar General. In this enlarged sense, the metropolis extends over an area of about 74,070 acres, and had, in 1841, a population of 1,950,526. The estimated population within the above limits in the intervening years has been—

1842 - - -	1,980,776	1847 - - -	2,139,209
1843 - - -	2,011,495	1848 - - -	2,172,386
1844 - - -	2,042,690	1849 - - -	2,206,076
1845 - - -	2,074,370	1850 - - -	2,240,389
1846 - - -	2,106,540		

London is of great antiquity. It is said by Tacitus to have been in the days of Nero, *copiâ negotiatorum et comœmentum*

*mazimè celebre.* (*Annal.* lib. xiv. § 33.) It suffered severely in the revolt of Boadicea; but it speedily recovered from that disaster, and has always been the largest and most important of British towns. It is mainly indebted for its early and long-continued prosperity to its admirable situation. Though forty-five miles from the sea, it enjoys, owing to its position on a great navigable river, all the advantages of an excellent seaport, vessels of 800 tons burden coming up to London Bridge. Had it been built lower down, it would have been less healthy and more exposed to hostile attacks; and had it been higher up, it would have been deprived of the inestimable advantage of a deep-water harbour.

The Romans surrounded London with walls. It is probable that its limits were then commensurate with the part of the city said to be "within the walls," reaching from the end of Leadenhall Street to the top of Ludgate Hill, and from the Thames to London Wall and Little Britain. The wall appears to have inclosed it along the water as well as on the land sides. The great Roman roads called Watling Street and Ermin Street, as well as the *viæ vicinales*, centred in London.

The continued and rapid increase of buildings renders it difficult to ascertain the extent of the metropolis at any particular period. If we include in it those parts only that present a solid mass of houses, its length, from east to west, may be taken at six miles, and its breadth, from north to south, at about three and a half miles. There is, however, a nearly continuous line of houses from Blackwall to Chelsea, a distance of about seven miles; and from Walworth to Holloway of four and a half miles. The extent of surface covered by buildings is estimated at about sixteen square miles, or above 10,000 acres, so that M. Say, the celebrated French economist, did not really indulge in hyberbole when he said, *Londres n'est plus une ville: c'est une province couverte de maisons!*

Notwithstanding its immense size, it is not difficult for

strangers to make their way in London. The Thames runs through it lengthwise from west to east, and most of the great lines of streets are parallel to the river, being intersected at variable distances by lines of cross streets, or of streets running north and south. Of the former, or of the longitudinal streets parallel to the river, there are two principal lines. The most northerly of these enters London on the west by the Bayswater Road, passing in front of the fine terraces facing the north side of Hyde Park: It then runs along Oxford Street, about one mile and three quarters in length, till, after passing the south or lower end of Tottenham Court Road, it unites with and is prolonged by Holborn, a wide and handsome street about one mile in length; whence it proceeds through Skinner Street, and Newgate Street, till it reaches Cheapside, one of the greatest thoroughfares in the city. It next passes through the Poultry, having the Bank and the Exchange on the one hand, and the Mansion-House on the other, along Cornhill, to Leadenhall Street; from which it is continued by Whitechapel and the Mile End Road, into the country. Its entire length from Hyde Park to the Regent's Canal, Mile End, is above six miles.

The other great longitudinal street, to the south of that now traced, enters London on the west after passing through Kensington. This is by far the finest of the avenues to the metropolis. On the left, Kensington Gardens appear like an ornamental forest; Hyde Park gradually rises to the splendid terraces on the north, and is bordered on the east by magnificent houses, or rather palaces; and on entering Piccadilly is the handsome approach to Hyde Park and the west front of Apsley House, the town residence of the Duke of Wellington, *decus et tutamen patriæ*. On the right are the bold arch and gate leading to the queen's palace, surmounted by the statue of his grace; the Green Park, apparently stretching to the towers of Westminster Abbey; and a long line of splendid buildings, with the Norwood hills in the distance. The promise of a magnificent city is not

by an advance through Piccadilly. This, which is the the London streets traversed by the traveller from the one mile in length, and is principally built only on the side, the other being open to the Green Park. It contains splendid private residences, and shops. On reaching the end of Piccadilly, the continuous line of street divides into two lines: one of these runs on through Coventry Street, St. James's Square, Long Acre, and Great Queen Street, till it meets with Holborn: the other line deflects to the right through Fenchurch Market, whence it proceeds to the east along the line of the River.

St. Paul's Church, till it unites with the Strand: This, though very in many places narrow and encumbered, is now a principal street: it follows pretty closely the line of the river, which it is not far distant; and, besides two churches in the neighbourhood, has Exeter Hall on its north, and Somerset House on its south side. Contiguous to the latter is Wellington Street, which leads to Waterloo Bridge. The Strand terminates at the gate of Temple Bar, the boundary of the city on the south. The great line of street is thence prolonged through Fleet Street, at the east end of which, on the right, is a fine bridge leading to Blackfriars Bridge; and on the left, Farringdon Street, one of the widest in the city, which it is intended to be continued; to Islington. From Fleet Street the line continues up the north side of the River, till it reaches St. Paul's, the noblest edifice in the metropolis.

At the east end of St. Paul's Churchyard, the wider channel of the River, which is a continuation of the grand northern line of street, traced, coming from Oxford Street, Holborn, &c.; but a branch of the former line runs nearer the river, through Fenchurch Street, Eastcheap, and Tower Street, to the wide area of the River, whence it may be traced either in a straight line through the Rotherhithe-highway, north of the London Docks, or close to the river along Wapping and Shadwell, where the lines



again form a single street leading to the West India Docks. The streets east of the Tower are narrow, and lined with mean houses mostly occupied by persons connected with shipping. This line is altogether about six miles in length.

Another line of street which unites with that last described, may be considered as beginning at Vauxhall Bridge, close to which is an open quay, half a mile in length, commanding a view of the river and of the archiepiscopal palace of Lambeth. The line of road is, however, soon separated from the river by ranges of buildings, along which it passes, till it reaches Abingdon Street. At the termination of the latter it runs on, having Westminster Abbey on the left, and the Houses of Parliament with Westminster Hall and bridge on the right: after leaving these, it connects with Parliament Street, and then with the spacious street called Whitehall, in which are the Treasury, Horse Guards, and Admiralty, separating it from St. James's Park on the left, and the Banqueting Hall, with other handsome mansions shutting out the view of the river. The magnificence of the buildings in this short line of street is unequalled, except by those at the west entrance of Piccadilly, and by the terraces of the Regent's Park. Beyond Whitehall is Charing Cross and Trafalgar Square, with the Nelson monument in its centre, and the National Gallery on its north-west side. Here the line, bending east with the river, unites with the Strand, already noticed.

Among the principal streets running from north to south, the first and most westerly is the Edgeware Road, with its continuations, Park Lane, Grosvenor Place, and Vauxhall-bridge Road, which, for the most part, bound the metropolis westward. The second, proceeding eastward, is the line formed of Portland Place, Regent Street, and Waterloo Place, extending between the Regent's and St. James's Parks, and forming the most splendid public thoroughfare in London, as well from the width of road as from the grandeur of the houses

and shops on either side. At its south termination is a granite column, surmounted by a bronze statue of the Duke of York, brother to George IV. A little north of Piccadilly the line curves through the Quadrant, a handsome range of buildings. From this point it continues northward to Oxford Street, where it expands into a circus, and then, resuming its former dimensions, proceeds to the church in Langham Place: here, by a slight curve westwards, it opens into Portland Place, a wide and well-built street, formerly a favourite residence of the foreign ambassadors, but latterly declining in the scale of fashion: Park Crescent and Park Square, opening into the Regent's Park, form an appropriate finish to the whole. The third great north and south line is a continuation southwards of the road from Hampstead: it passes along Tottenham Court Road to the east end of Oxford Street, from which point its course may be traced through narrow streets down St. Martin's Lane to Charing Cross: but though a busy, it is an intricate thoroughfare, and is devoid of architectural interest. The other principal north and south lines consist of Gray's Inn Lane and Chancery Lane; Goswell Street and Aldersgate Street; and the line of street commencing at the Regent's Canal on the north, successively called Kingsland Road, Shoreditch, Norton-Folgate, Bishopsgate Street, and Gracechurch Street: at the south termination of the latter this line passes over London Bridge, and is thence prolonged across the Borough as far as Kennington Church in Surrey: its length is about four miles, which may be considered the breadth of London in this quarter. The portion of this line at and near London Bridge affords some of the finest points for viewing London and the scenery on the river. Exclusive of the above, there are an infinite number of cross streets, some of which are of great importance. Among others, a spacious line has been opened from Finsbury Square through Moorgate Street, Princes Street, and King William Street, to London Bridge.

In addition to the various routes intersecting each other in different directions, a grand line of road embraces the greater part of London on the north, in a manner not unlike that in which the Boulevards encircle Paris. It commences in the Uxbridge Road, and has a north-east course as far as King's Cross, St. Pancras, where, turning eastward, it ascends Pentonville Hill, and entering the City Road, terminates in Finsbury Square.

In Southwark, the great roads from the different bridges unite at the well-known posting house called the Elephant and Castle. They are generally wide and well-built streets, though, with the exception of Blackfriars Road, inferior to the principal thoroughfares north of the river. A line of street, extending from Westminster Road to the Borough, connects these several roads with each other.

Unlike Edinburgh and many other great towns, the houses in London are not, with the exception of those in the Temple and Inns of Court, divided into stories (*Scotticè* "flats"); but in the vast majority of instances belong to or are hired by one individual, by whom, however, portions of them are frequently let to lodgers. They have usually a story sunk below the level of the street, comprising the kitchen and other offices, above which are usually three or four, or more stories. The smaller, and by far the most numerous class of houses, have narrow fronts, containing one room or shop in the front of the street floor, and that immediately above it, the stair and a smaller apartment occupying the back part; the two upper floors are frequently divided into smaller apartments. Every house has the inestimable advantage of having an abundant supply of water; and in all the better class of houses it is supplied to the top as well as to the under story. Except in the very worst parts of the town, all the refuse water and drainage of the house is conveyed by a covered drain to the sewer, or grand *receptacle* in the centre of the street, sunk below the line of

the lateral drains. Most houses have cellars opposite to them under the street for the stowage of coal, and such like articles. No filth is ever laid down upon the streets, which have, universally, flagged foot-paths along each side; and notwithstanding the concourse of horses, and the grinding of the pavement by carriages, the streets are, speaking generally, extremely well kept.

Until a comparatively late period the external appearance of the houses of London was little in harmony with the wealth of their occupiers, and the richness of their interiors. Internal comfort was long the only, as it still is (and it is to be hoped will long continue to be) the grand object of the Londoner. Provided his house were clean, commodious, and well and handsomely furnished, he cared little about its outside. Hence it was that the interminable rows of dull-looking brick houses, erected with little or no regard to uniformity, led strangers to remark that the best streets resembled long walls pierced with holes for doors and windows. Even Bond Street was said, in 1810, by an intelligent foreigner, to be "an ugly, inconvenient street, the attractions of which it is difficult to understand." But the same author (*Simond*) adds—"You cannot pass the threshold without being struck with the look of order and neatness of the interior. Instead of the abominable filth of the common entrance and common stairs of a French house, here you step from the very street on a neat floorcloth or carpet, the wall painted or papered, a lamp in its glass ball hanging from the ceiling, and every apartment in the same style. All is neat, compact, and independent."

With the exception, indeed, of St. Paul's, Westminster Abbey, Somerset House, and a few more churches and public buildings, London displayed, till within the last few years, little architectural elegance. In our own times, however, the erection of magnificent ranges of buildings, in every direction, has made our metropolis as superior to most capitals in appear-

ance, as it has long been in wealth, cleanliness, and comfort. The line of Regent Street has been already mentioned, to which may be added the Regent's Park, "affording a landscape bounded by hills, and more than half surrounded by a large circuit of buildings, worthy the capital of the world." Belgrave and Eaton Squares, and the adjoining streets and squares on the estate of the Marquis of Westminster, with the terraces in Carlton Gardens, have all been raised within the last thirty years, and are probably unequalled for symmetry and magnificence. Within a still shorter space a splendid city has been built on the elevated ground on the north side of Hyde Park. And these, with the new buildings in Pall Mall, St. James's Street, &c., render the west end of London a residence worthy the wealthiest aristocracy in the world. But the improvements effected of late years in the city, or oldest part of the town, have been equally great and striking. The new streets that lead from the Bank to London Bridge on the one hand, and to Moorfields on the other, are on a grand scale; and when it is borne in mind that the ground which they traverse was previously occupied by a dense mass of houses which had to be purchased at a high price, it will be seen that they do as much credit to the public spirit as to the taste of the citizens. Four new and noble bridges over the Thames form no small addition to the improvements of the last forty years. Although, therefore, it cannot be said of George IV. and William IV., that, like Augustus, they found a capital of brick, and left one of marble, it must be admitted that during their reigns an extraordinary impulse was given to city architecture and embellishment: and this impulse still continues, and bids fair to render the reign of Queen Victoria yet more memorable in the annals of civic improvement.

The houses of London, with very few exceptions, are built of brick. But within the last few years those in the principal *streets have been mostly plastered or stuccoed over, and their*

fronts made so exactly to imitate the finest freestone, that it is sometimes no easy matter to distinguish between them. This method of dressing up houses has contributed most materially to the improved appearance of the town. Those indeed, who have been accustomed to stone structures, are apt to associate ideas of insecurity and of rapid decay with stuccoed fabrics; but, provided the walls be well built, and the plaster be kept in repair by occasional painting, stuccoed houses are, in fact, all but imperishable. The cheapness of stucco, too, allows it to be applied to the inferior class of houses; while, from the facility with which it may be moulded, it permits an elaborateness of ornament that could not be executed in stone at many times the cost. Belgrave Square, and the magnificent terraces of Carlton Gardens, Hyde Park, &c., owe most part of their elegance to the judicious application of stucco.

The insides, as well as the outsides, of the houses have been greatly improved within the last thirty or forty years; those now and lately built being far more conveniently constructed than formerly, and better suited to the accommodation, the comfort, and the health of their inmates.

It is frequently both a difficult and a dangerous matter to get across a crowded street, or one much frequented by carriages. This difficulty has, however, been in some parts a good deal lessened by constructing raised landing-places in the middle of the streets, protected by pillars and lamps, to which passengers may resort. But though these conveniences do not cause any sensible obstruction to carriages, their supply is scanty in the extreme; there not being, in fact, one where there should be ten.

It is much to be regretted that the Thames, which from its breadth and depth might be the greatest ornament of the city, as well as the principal source of its wealth and prosperity, is so closely pent up by wharfs, warehouses, and other buildings, that it is almost shut out from the view, except where it is

crossed by bridges. It is, however, fronted by the Custom House and Somerset House, the Adelphi Terrace, and by the Temple Gardens, and some private houses in Whitehall. But the most magnificent views of the river, and, indeed, in some respects, of the city, are obtained from the bridges.

*Divisions.*—The most popular division of London is into three parts: the city, the west end, and the borough; Temple Bar dividing the city from the west end, and the river separating both these portions from the borough. This division is necessarily vague, and, for specific purposes, different divisions are made. The city of London, strictly considered, is situated nearly in the centre of the metropolis, and is the seat of commerce on the largest scale. The city of Westminster, west of the city of London, contains the royal palaces, the houses of parliament, the law courts, most of the public offices, and the town residences of nearly all the nobility and aristocracy. The cities of London and Westminster, however, do not comprise above an eighth part of the area, or a fourth part of the population, of the whole of what may be considered the metropolis. For parliamentary elections, the metropolis is divided into seven districts: the cities of London and Westminster, as above stated; the borough of Finsbury, north of the city of London; the Tower Hamlets, east of Finsbury and the city; Marylebone, north of the city of Westminster; and two districts south of the river, Southwark on the east, and Lambeth on the west side.

The area of the city of London, which comprises only a small portion of the metropolis, is roughly estimated at about 570 acres. Its boundary line, leaving the Thames at Temple Lane, passes northwards, crossing Fleet Street at Temple Bar, and Holborn at "Holborn Bars." Turning eastward, it thence takes an undulating course, inclosing Smithfield, Finsbury Circus, and Bishopsgate Street south of Spital Square. It thence passes south-east through Petticoat Lane, to Aldgate, from which point, the boundary, pursuing a south-south-west

course, reaches the Thames by a very irregular line, excluding the Tower. The city is divided into 108 parishes, of which ninety-seven are said to be "within," and eleven "without" the walls. This division is now merely nominal, the ancient city boundary having long disappeared, although the city gates, where the walls passed the great thoroughfares, were standing in the last half of the eighteenth century.\*

The east boundary of the city of Westminster coincides with the west boundary of London at the Thames and Temple; it thence runs north-west to the junction of Tottenham Court Road and Oxford Street. The latter street constitutes the whole north boundary as far as the west extremity at Kensington Gardens. From this point a very irregular line, running to Chelsea Hospital, forms the west boundary. It then turns to the south-west along the Serpentine river, on leaving which it goes south until it reaches the Thames near Chelsea Hospital.

The five metropolitan boroughs, being parliamentary only, and not municipal, need not be minutely described. Marylebone includes the three parishes of Marylebone, Paddington, and St. Pancras; Finsbury comprises nine parishes, and the Rolls' liberty; and the Tower Hamlets includes fifteen; Southwark embraces not only the municipal borough, but the parishes of Bermondsey and Rotherhithe; and Lambeth comprises Camberwell and Newington, as well as the parish of its own name.

*Parks, Squares, &c.*—The west end of the town is beautified and rendered healthy by four extensive parks, appropriately called the lungs of London. They are open to the public; and, though each has a different character, they all afford ample scope for recreation and exercise. Hyde Park (once the manor of Hyde, and belonging to the Abbey of Westminster), lying west of Piccadilly and Oxford Street, and between the roads leading therefrom, contains about 400 acres, and has a

\* The gate at Temple Bar, between Fleet Street and the Strand, is the only one now remaining.— See *post*.



large and deep artificial lake, crossed by a handsome bridge of five arches. This lake, which is slightly bent, is, by an absurd misnomer, called the Serpentine river. The whole of this park was, till lately, an open field, dotted with trees, and traversed by carriage-ways, which, in fine weather, during the season, are crowded with gay and fashionable equipages. But a portion of it on the south-west side of the Serpentine river has, within this short time, been taken off for the extraordinary fabric of iron and glass that is now being erected for the Grand Exhibition of this year. This fabric, which covers several acres of land, will be one of the principal "lions" of the metropolis. It is not yet, we believe, determined whether it is to be pulled down when the exhibition is over; but if not, the encroachment on the park will, we apprehend, go far to balance much of the advantage of which the exhibition may be productive. Kensington Gardens, lying west of Hyde Park, and separated from it by a trench and wall, are open to the public. They are extensive, and are finely wooded. St. James's Park, between the Horse Guards and Buckingham Palace, is less than a fourth part of Hyde Park, and not so open; its site being low, damp, and marshy. Within these few years, however, the central part has been tastefully laid out, and what was a dirty straight canal, running through a marsh, has been converted into a varied sheet of water, interspersed with islands affording a secure retreat to numerous aquatic birds, and surrounded by lawns, shrubberies, and trees. The avenues on the north side of this park are open to all pedestrians and gentlemen on horseback, but only to the carriages of some privileged members of the aristocracy. The south drive is open to all private and hackney carriages. The Green Park, a triangular piece of ground, about as large as St. James's, from which it gradually rises to Piccadilly, is open, well-aired, and forms a sort of miniature Hyde Park. Along *its* eastern margin are some of the most splendid houses in the *metropolis*, including those of Earl Spencer, the Duke of

Sutherland, and the Earl of Ellesmere. The latter, in the Palladian style, is a noble palace, and will, when finished, be the most magnificent private residence in London.

The Regent's Park, which is nearly as large as Hyde Park, with an equally varied surface, was formed during the regency, in the latter years of the reign of George III. It is situated north of Portland Place, on high ground, surrounded by elegant buildings. But it has a clay subsoil, is wet, and badly drained. Neither is it, what it professes to be, a place wholly appropriated to the accommodation and recreation of the public: on the contrary, the public is shut out from a considerable portion of its extent, and some even of its finest parts have been let to individuals who have built villas upon them! This is a gross abuse of the public property: and it is astonishing that it should have been allowed to be perpetrated, almost without notice. The gardens of the Zoological Society are situated on the north side of this park; and the central portion is occupied by the garden of the Botanical Society.

A portion of the advantages so long enjoyed by the west end of the town in the possession of its four parks, has latterly been conferred on the east parts of the city, where Victoria Park has recently been opened to the public. It comprises about 300 acres of land, which were bought by and laid out at the expense of government. It is much frequented by the adjoining population, especially on Sundays. It is situated a little to the north-east of Bethnal Green. Another new park is also about to be opened in Battersea Fields, west of Lambeth.

On the east side of the Regent's Park, near Park Square, is the large building inaptly styled the Colosseum. It is a sixteen-sided polygonal structure, with a magnificent portico and cupola. It is principally used for the exhibition of panoramic views on a large scale; but it has, also, a spacious room for the exhibition of sculpture, with the trumpery of grottoes, a Swiss cottage, &c.

The Squares of London are pretty numerous in all parts, but the largest and handsomest are in the west end. In many, the houses are on a grand scale, and the central gardens well laid out. Grosvenor, Berkeley, and Hanover Squares, which lie between Oxford Street and Piccadilly, were formerly, and still are, favourite resorts of the aristocracy. Perhaps, however, Belgrave Square in Pimlico, with the surrounding streets and squares, and Carlton Terrace, may at present be the most fashionable quarters. St. James's Square, between Piccadilly and Pall Mall, and Cavendish, Portman, and Manchester Squares, on the north side of Oxford Street, are mostly occupied by persons of distinction. Trafalgar Square has two fountains; but they are the reverse of ornamental. Further east are Russell and Bedford Squares, and a cluster of squares to the north of these, chiefly occupied by merchants and tradesmen. Lincoln's Inn Fields, south of Holborn, is a large and well built square, and its enclosure is more tastefully laid out than any other in the metropolis. Finsbury Square lies north of the city, and near it is Finsbury Circus. Other squares, formed of good houses, are to be found in all parts of the town and neighbourhood.

*Statues and Public Monuments.*—Several of the best squares are decorated with statues; among which may be remarked those of Charles II., William III., Anne, and George I., in Soho, St. James's, Queen's, and Leicester Squares\*; that of George I. in Grosvenor Square; of William, Duke of Cumberland, in Cavendish Square; of Pitt, by Chantrey, in Hanover Square; of Fox, by Westmacott, in Bloomsbury Square; of the Duke of Bedford, by the same sculptor, in Russell Square; and of George IV., by Chantrey, in Trafalgar Square. Other statues are placed in different parts of the metropolis, among which are the equestrian statues of Charles I.,

\* The latter has very recently been removed to make way for a building destined to inclose a gigantic terrestrial globe.

by Le Soeur, at Charing Cross; of James II., by Gibbons, behind Whitehall; of Anne, by Bird, in front of St. Paul's; of George III., by Wyatt, Pall Mall; of the late Duke of Kent, in Park Crescent; of William IV., in King William Street, city; of Canning, by Chantrey, in Palace Yard; of the Duke of Wellington, by Wyatt, over the grand arch at the junction of the street, at Hyde Park Corner, with the road leading by Constitution Hill to Buckingham Palace; and another statue of his grace, by Chantrey, opposite to the Bank of England in the city. Near the east entrance to Hyde Park is a statue copied from a figure at Rome, said, but without any authority, to be that of Achilles. It is of brass, and was formed out of cannon captured by the Duke of Wellington, in whose honour it was erected, and to whom it is inscribed, by the ladies of England! But with all due deference, it is not easy to imagine any thing more absurd. What has the Duke of Wellington, by far the most illustrious Englishman of his age, in common with a colossal gladiator, that a statue of the latter should be erected in his honour?

The Monument on Fish Street Hill, built in 1671-77, to commemorate the burning of London, is a fluted Doric column, 202 feet in height, designed by Sir Christopher Wren. The pedestal is decorated by a representation, in relief, of the destruction of the city, sculptured by Cibber: at the top of the column is a gallery affording a view of the east part of the metropolis, and on the summit is a blazing urn, recently regilt. It is a noble column, and had it been better situated would have been one of the greatest ornaments of the city. A short English inscription on the pedestal, ascribed, without the slightest foundation, the conflagration it is designed to commemorate to the treachery and malice of a Popish faction. Pope alluded to this when he says,

“ Where London's column pointing to the skies,  
Like a tall bully, lifts the head and lies.”

But, in 1830, this offensive inscription was obliterated, in pursuance of a resolution of the Court of Common Council.

The York Column is a plain Doric pillar of granite, surmounted by a bronze colossal statue of the Duke of York. The height of the column is 124 feet, and above the capital is an iron gallery, from which a good view is obtained of the west end of the town. This column, erected in 1833, is situated on the north side of St. James's Park, at the lower end of Waterloo Place.

A fluted Corinthian column, with a capital of cast metal, has been erected in Trafalgar Square in honour of Nelson. It is surmounted by a statue in stone of the hero; and on its pedestal are some spirited sculptures in *alto rilievo*, in bronze, representing his death, and some of the most striking events of his life. It is 176 feet 6 inches high from the base to the top of the statue; but, on the whole, it has a poor effect.

*Bridges.*—The Thames, which in its course through London, has a medium width of about 1000 feet, is crossed by six bridges for carriages, &c., and by a bridge for foot passengers only, built at an aggregate expense of above 5,000,000*l.* A wooden structure had been thrown across the river early in the eleventh century; but the frequent and costly repairs indispensable for its maintenance led to the construction of one of more durable materials. A stone bridge, of pointed architecture, was completed in 1209, which, by means of occasional renovations, was kept standing till 1834. Down to the middle of last century, this was the only bridge between London and Southwark. The great inconvenience of a circuitous journey from the west end of the town to the city before the river could be crossed by carriages, induced parliament, in 1738, to make a grant for the erection of Westminster Bridge at the court end of the metropolis. Blackfriars Bridge (intended by its projectors to have been called Pitt Bridge, in honour of the first great statesman of the name of Pitt), was built about twenty years

after, the expense of its construction being defrayed by a toll exacted during nineteen years. Westminster and Blackfriars Bridges were built of Portland stone, which, being too soft to resist the constant attrition of the water, and of the ice of winter, their piers were so much worn as to threaten their entire destruction: latterly, however, the piers of Blackfriars Bridge have been cased with granite, and it has been otherwise repaired at a heavy expense. Considerable progress has, also, been made in the repair of Westminster Bridge; and it is probable that it would ere now have been completely renovated, had it not been latterly proposed to take it down because, being in the immediate neighbourhood of the new Houses of Parliament, its height does not harmonise with their low elevation! The bridges erected within the present century have completed the connection between all the important districts on both sides of the river. Two of these, Vauxhall and Southwark Bridges, have iron arches. The latter, the most splendid structure of its kind hitherto erected, has only three arches, the span of that in the centre being 240 feet, and the weight of metal in it 1,665 tons! Waterloo Bridge, which Canova said was "worth a visit from the remotest corner of the earth," is of granite, and has nine elliptical arches, each 120 feet in width. It was built by a joint-stock company; but owing to the want of any great thoroughfare leading to or from it, and to the influence of the toll on the passengers and carriages that cross the river by its means, it is little frequented, and has been most unprofitable. The demolition of old London Bridge was owing less to its decayed state than to the defects of its construction. The piers and starlings between its numerous arches (twenty-one, at the period of its removal) occupied so large a portion of the water-way as to obstruct the course of the water both during the flow and ebb of the tide, especially the latter. At low ebb, indeed, there was a difference of nearly five feet between the level of the water on

the upper and lower sides of the bridge. This, by occasioning a dangerous fall and eddy in the water for a considerable time both before and after low water, interrupted the navigation, and occasioned every now and then fatal accidents. At length it was determined to abate the nuisance by pulling down the old bridge, and erecting in its stead a new structure with arches of such a size as not sensibly to affect the flow of the river. New London Bridge, like the Southwark and Waterloo Bridges, was planned by the late John Rennie. It is built of granite, the span of the centre arch being 150 feet; and whether we consider its magnitude, or the beauty and simplicity of its structure, it is certainly a noble specimen of bridge architecture. The heavy expense of this fabric has been partly defrayed by a duty on all coal brought into the pool, and partly from the revenues of property appropriated for the support of "London Bridge."

The following table comprises a statement of the principal particulars connected with the different carriage bridges belonging to the city. (*Leeds on the Public Edifices of London*, ii. 402.)

Name,	Date of Completion.	Cost.	No. of Arches.	Length.	Breadth.	Span of Central Arch.
		£		feet.	feet.	feet.
London Bridge	1831	2,000,000	5	920	55	150
Southwark —	1819	800,000	3	700	42	240
Blackfriars —	1770	260,000	9	1,000	42	100
Waterloo —	1817	1,150,000	9	1,326	42	120
Westminster —	1751	389,500	15	1,066	42	76
Vauxhall —	1814	280,000	9	809	36	78

The Hungerford Suspension Bridge for foot passengers, between Westminster and Blackfriars Bridges, was opened in 1845.

This handsome and convenient structure is supported by two towers in the river.

*The Tunnel*, which, unlike the bridges, passes *under* and not over the Thames, effects a connection between its banks, nearly two miles below London Bridge. The erection of a bridge in the centre of the port was of course impracticable, and the mode of uniting the two shores, without injury to the shipping interest, was long a difficult problem for engineers. It was at length solved by Sir I. Brunel, who designed and completed the tunnel. It consists of a hollow brick cylinder, or tube, sub-divided into two road-ways, each 15 feet high and 12 feet broad. Notwithstanding the danger attending the execution of the work, owing to the perpetual oozing through and occasional bursting in of the river, the loss of life during the fifteen years it occupied was very inconsiderable. But it has hitherto been a most unprofitable speculation; and how curious soever in other respects, we incline to think that the tunnel never will be of much practical utility. The difficulty of the descent will always be a formidable obstacle to its extensive use. It was begun by a private company, but it could not have been completed without the aid of grants from the public.

*Palaces and Houses of Parliament.*—St. James's, at the west end of Pall Mall, is an irregular mean-looking brick building totally unworthy the name of palace: it was erected by Henry VIII., on the site of an hospital for female lepers, which existed in the 11th century. The interior, however, is handsomely fitted up, and it is well adapted for court levees and drawing-rooms, which are mostly held in it. The chapel attached to this edifice is that used for the ancient hospital.

Buckingham Palace, at the west end of St. James's Park, occupies the site of Arlington House, pulled down by John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, who erected in its stead a plain respectable mansion. Having been purchased by George III.



in 1762, it became the favourite abode of Queen Charlotte. Under George IV., whose rage for building was as decided as his taste was equivocal, Buckingham House was entirely rebuilt; and became, in 1837, the town residence of the Queen. Till recently, the principal front to the east consisted of three sides of a square, a marble arch (a miniature imitation of that of Constantine at Rome) being a little in advance of its narrow projecting wings. But this arch, which did not harmonise with the rest of the building, and was, at the same time, mean and paltry, has been removed in the course of the present year (1850).\* A new eastern front has, also, been given to the building, which is now quadrangular. This new portion is of great magnitude; and though, perhaps, some of its details may be objected to, it is, on the whole, an imposing structure, and makes an important addition to the palace. The apartments in it are more lofty than those in the other portions of the building, and are better fitted for state-display. The garden façade, an elevation of the Corinthian order on a rustic basement, is the best part of the palace built by George IV. The gallery, about 160 feet in length, contains some good pictures. Except in the new front, the rooms in the basement story are low, and some of them, with the greater number of the corridors and passages, are badly lighted.

The situation of this palace is not favourable. It is closely hemmed in on the south side by inferior houses; while, on the west side, the grounds are overlooked by the houses in Grosvenor Place. Improvements are now being made between the new front and St. James's Park, which, certainly, were much needed. Hitherto, the road in front of the palace, and along the Mall, not being paved, but covered with a compound of gravel and clay, became in wet weather a mere puddle.

The old Houses of Parliament stood upon ground formerly occupied by the palace of Westminster. Their appearance was

\* *It is now being rebuilt at Cumberland Gate, Hyde Park.*

far from imposing ; but a certain degree of antiquated splendour, the associations connected with their history, and the importance of the purposes to which they were appropriated, made them respectable in the eyes of Englishmen. They were, however, wholly destroyed by fire on the 16th October, 1834. A building, which it was supposed would be one of the noblest ornaments of the metropolis, has for some years past been in the course of being erected on the same spot by Mr. Barry. It has a river front 900 feet in length, and several towers ; that at the south-west angle, over the royal entrance, in the perpendicular English style, being intended to be 340 feet high. It would, perhaps, be going too far to say that the expectations that were originally formed of this building bid fair to be wholly disappointed. But, in so far as it may be judged by its present appearance, we cannot help agreeing in great part with those who think that both externally and internally it will be an all but complete failure. Its site is too low, but this defect might easily have been obviated by artificial means. The elevation, also, of the greater part of the building is too low ; and this is made the more obvious by contrast with the grand tower, which is to be of an extraordinary altitude. It is, also, overlaid with an endless profusion of minute ornaments, which detract from its simplicity, appear paltry, and are good for nothing, but to catch soot and smoke, and to form convenient receptacles for swallows' nests. The passages inside, being in the last degree complicated, are more like the mazes in a labyrinth than the corridors in a palace. The new House of Lords is as gorgeous and meretricious as gilding, painting, and bad taste can make it ; and the new House of Commons is said to have all the faults such a building can have. It is of little consequence to inquire who is really responsible for all this. But it is much to be regretted that the opportunity, so unlikely to recur, of raising a structure worthy of the legislature of a great nation, has been thus thrown away ; and that the enormous expense that has been, and will yet have to be,

incurred in completing the present fabric, should not have been expended on some worthier building.

The *Government Offices*, including the Treasury, Home Office, and Board of Trade, on the west side of Whitehall, have recently been much improved by the erection of a uniform and handsome palatial front. The Board of Control has an Ionic portico, but is, otherwise, a plain building. The Ordnance and Admiralty offices make no pretensions to display; and the "Horse Guards," which does pretend to it, is in very bad taste. Many of the public offices are in Somerset House, once a palace occupied by Edward VI. and Elizabeth. The old building was taken down in 1775; and the present quadrangular structure, designed by Sir William Chambers, was completed in 1782, and distributed into government offices. The street front is only 200 feet in length, but that facing the river is 800 feet in length, and is one of the noblest elevations in London. An eastern wing was added by King's College, in 1830, in completion of the architect's design.

On the river's bank, in the east part of the city, is *the Tower*,

"With many a foul and midnight murder fed."

This rude fortress, about  $\frac{1}{4}$  m. below London Bridge, was begun by William the Conqueror in 1078. The original building, now called the White Tower, was completed in 1098. Additions were made by Henry III. in 1240, by Edward IV. in 1465, and the whole was substantially repaired by Charles II. in 1663. The Grand Storehouse, a large building north of the White Tower, begun by James II., and completed by William III., was burned down in 1841, when about 280,000 stand of muskets and small arms were destroyed. On the site of this Storehouse a large semi-Gothic structure, called the Wellington barracks, and serving partly as such, and partly as an armoury, &c., has been erected. It is fire proof, and is constructed so that it could not easily be taken, unless artillery were employed

against it. The Tower was a royal palace during more than five centuries. It was long, also, and still in fact is, a state prison; and several royal personages, and some of our highest nobles, and most distinguished commoners, have perished in this edifice, some by the hands of public executioners, and some by the dagger and bowl of the assassin. It anciently contained several detached masses of building, most of which have now disappeared. The original tower, now called the White Tower, still remains the principal edifice. The Martin Tower is now called the Jewel Tower. The Lantern Tower, the Royal Palace, and the Mint, have been pulled down. Of the remainder of the old building vestiges may be traced under altered names. The present edifices consist, excluding the barracks already referred to, of the church of St. Peter, the ordnance office, the record office, the jewel office, armouries, &c. The whole is surrounded by a moat, filled with water from the Thames, and the outer bank has been recently turned into pleasure grounds. The Tower is open to visitors, who pay 6*d.* to see the armouries, and a similar sum to inspect the regalia. The menagerie, formerly the best in England, having been superseded by that belonging to the Zoological Society in the Regent's Park, was dispersed some years ago.

*The Mint*, formerly in the Tower, but now on Tower Hill, is a stone building of Greek architecture, consisting of a centre and wings. The workshops and offices occupy about 8,000 square yards, and the machinery for coining is complete and efficient. The selection and remuneration of the officers and workmen is in some respects anomalous, and will, probably be soon changed. The money coined in 1847 consisted of 5,158,440*l.* in gold, 125,730*l.* in silver, and 8,960*l.* in copper. The gold is computed at the Mint price of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* per oz. troy, or 46·7 sovs. to the lb. troy; the silver at 5*s.* 6*d.* per oz., or 66*s.* to the lb. troy; and the copper at 224*l.* per ton, or 24 pence to the lb. avoird.

*Post-Office.*—The Post-Office, in the centre of the metropolis, near St. Paul's, a large, handsome building, completed in 1829, of Portland stone, is 390 feet in length, 130 feet in width, and 64 feet high. The façade has three Ionic porticoes, over the central and largest of which is a plain pediment. Within this portico is the great hall, 80 feet by 64 feet, divided into three compartments by rows of Ionic columns on granite pedestals: passages lead from it to the principal offices.

The business transacted in this building, embracing as it does the internal correspondence of this immense city, and its external correspondence with all parts of the United Kingdom and of the world, is necessarily of vast extent; and is conducted with a degree of dispatch, regularity, and accuracy, that is quite extraordinary. There are about 200 houses for receiving letters within what is called the "town district" of the metropolis. The postage collected in London amounted in 1847 to 888,948*l.*, and in 1848 to 876,351*l.* The post-office revenue of Liverpool, which is next to that of London, amounted in 1848 to 57,673*l.*

*Religious Establishments and Buildings.*—London is a bishop's see, the highest in rank in the kingdom under the archbishops. The diocese till lately comprised 199 parishes in Middlesex, 398 in Essex, 56 in Hertfordshire, and 4 in Buckinghamshire, in all, 650; but under the new ecclesiastical arrangements it comprises all the parishes of Middlesex, 23 in Surrey, 10 in Essex, and 9 in Kent, making a total of 241 parishes, and 313 benefices. The nett revenue of the diocese, at an average of the three years ending with 1831, was 13,929*l. per annum*, and owing to the building that has been and is now going on upon the bishop's estate, it will, at no distant period, amount to three or four times that sum; but on the death of the present incumbent, the income of the see is to be fixed at 10,000*l.* a year nett. There are in the city of London 113 parishes, of which 97 are within the walls, and 16 in the *liberties*: the 97 parishes are very small, and only 57 of them

have churches ; those belonging to the others either having been burned down at the great fire of 1666, and not rebuilt, or been since removed to make room for improvements. Some additional churches have been built in the liberties, making the whole number now in the city 75. Westminster contains 10 parishes, 4 of which were formed early in the last century, in consequence of the great increase of population at the west end of the town, and 1 recently ; 2 only of these parishes, St. Margaret's and St. John's, are considered to form the city of Westminster, the other 8 being denominated the liberties. Westminster was erected into a bishopric by Henry VIII. in 1541, when the whole of Middlesex, exclusive of the city of London and the parish of Fulham, was assigned as its diocese ; but this bishopric existed only nine years, at the expiration of which the ecclesiastical government reverted to its former channel. Within the present century, sundry district churches have been built. According to what appears to be an authentic statement, there are at present about 160 churches in the metropolis, exclusive of those in the city, or 235 in all : and to these have to be added about 85 episcopal chapels. It is needless, perhaps, to add that in addition to the churches and chapels belonging to the establishment, there are immense numbers of other places of worship in London. In it almost every class of religionists has its representatives, and its chapels. And some of these, as the Methodists, Roman Catholics, Baptists, Unitarians, Foreign Protestants, Scotch Presbyterians, Jews, &c. are very numerous. The entire number of chapels, &c., belonging to dissenters, that is, to all parties not in communion with the Church of England, amounts to about 280.

*St. Paul's*, the cathedral church of London, is not only the great architectural glory of the metropolis, but of the empire. It stands in an elevated situation at the top of Ludgate Hill, on the site of the former cathedral, destroyed during the great fire of 1666. Its foundations were laid on the 21st of June, 1675, and

Sir Christopher Wren, by whom it was designed, and under whose directions the work was carried on, lived to complete the stupendous edifice, the last stone of which was laid by his son in 1710. It is built in the form of a Latin cross, with an additional arm or transept at the west end to give breadth to the front, and has a semicircular projection at the east end for the altar, and semicircular porticoes at either end of the transept. It is 510 feet in length, east to west; the length of the cross, exclusive of the circular porticoes, is 250 feet; the breadth of the west façade with the turrets, 180 feet; and the height of the walls 110 feet. An immense dome, or cupola, rising over the centre, is surmounted by a lantern, ball, and cross, the latter being elevated 362 feet above the level of the floor, and 370 feet above the pavement of the churchyard. The two turrets, or belfries, in the west front, are each 222 feet in height. The walls are decorated by two stories of coupled pilasters arranged at regular distances, those below being of the Corinthian and those above of the Composite order. The whole building is of Portland stone; and the excellence of its foundations, and the massive solidity of its walls and piers, warrant the inference that it will be as lasting as it is magnificent.

St. Paul's, it is frequently said, is copied, or at least closely imitated, from St. Peter's at Rome; and to some extent this is true. But it is a copy that bears the impress of transcendent genius; and may be said to be to St. Peter's what the *Æneid* is to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The fronts of both cathedrals are the parts, perhaps, in which they are most deficient; but in neither instance was the architect allowed to follow out his own conceptions. Bramante and Michel Angelo wished to have the portico of St. Peter's formed on the plan of the Pantheon, and Wren was obliged to modify his masterly designs so as to make them acceptable to those to whom he was obliged to defer. The belfries of St. Paul's give it a character very different from that of St. Peter's. Neither is the dome of the

latter so spherical as that of the British cathedral, nor is it so striking a feature of the building, being placed so far behind the lofty façade as to be almost invisible to a person standing near the edifice. But in the vastness of its proportions St. Peter's as far exceeds St. Paul's as the latter does the largest of the English churches. Perhaps, also, it is superior to St. Paul's in the harmony of its parts; the dome, though so grand a feature in the latter, being, it is very generally admitted, too large for the other parts of the building. But the English cathedral is, though *longo intervallo*, second only to St. Peter's; and is unquestionably the noblest of transalpine and of Protestant temples.

The interior of St. Paul's is chaste and imposing; but, owing to the want of ornament, it has rather a naked and austere appearance. Latterly it has been attempted to obviate this defect by placing within the cathedral monuments erected at the public expense to eminent individuals, among whom may be specified Marquis Cornwallis, Earl St. Vincent, Lord Nelson, Abercrombie, Earl Howe, Howard the philanthropist, Dr. Johnson, Sir William Jones, Sir Joshua Reynolds, &c. But these, with few exceptions, do no credit either to the artists or the country, and are totally unworthy of the temple which they only encumber.

The remains of Sir Christopher Wren are deposited in one of the vaults of the cathedral; and before the entrance to the choir is the following appropriate inscription to his memory:—

SUBTUS. CONDITUR. HUIUS. ECCLESIE. ET. URBIS.  
CONDITOR. CHRISTOPHORUS WREN. QUI. VIXIT.  
ANNOS. ULTRA. NONAGINTUR. NON. SIBI. SED.  
BONO. PUBLICO. LECTOR. SI. MONUMENTUM. REQUIRIS.  
CIRCUMSPICE.  
OBIIT. XXV. FEB. ANNO. MDCCXXIII.  
ÆTAT. 91.



Individuals ascend by an inside stair to the stone gallery which surrounds the exterior gallery above the colonnade; and by a more difficult ascent they reach the Golden Gallery, which crowns the apex of the dome, at the base of the lantern. The view from this latter point, on a clear day, is unrivalled. The entire metropolis, vast as it is, appears to be spread out at the spectator's feet. The broad and silvery line of the river, crossed by numerous bridges, and bearing on its bosom thousands of vessels, gives infinite grandeur and variety to the scene. At this height, the people, horses, and carriages in the streets, and every thing else on the surface, appear so greatly diminished, that the bustle of the crowd has been, not inaptly, compared to that of a swarm of emmets. Owing to the usual density of the smoke, this splendid view is seldom seen in perfection. It appears to the greatest advantage early in a clear summer morning, before the fires are lighted.

The more adventurous visitors not only ascend to the top of the cupola, but enter the lantern, and thence make their way into the copper ball by which it is crowned. The diameter of the latter is 6 feet 2 inches.

The whole cost of this noble structure amounted to only 747,954*l.*, less than a fourth part of the sum that will probably be required to complete the new Houses of Parliament! It was, as has been often remarked, finished in thirty-five years, under the superintendence of one architect, by one master mason (Mr. Strong), and during the incumbency of one Bishop of London (Dr. Henry Compton). St. Peter's on the contrary, was 145 years in building, during which time no fewer than twelve architects were employed upon it, and nineteen popes sat in the papal chair! (See *Brayley's Account of St. Paul's*, in the *Survey of London and Middlesex*, ii. 249—310.; *Aikin's Essay on St. Paul's*; *Britton's Account of St. Paul's*; *Elmes Life of Sir Christopher Wren*, &c.)

*It is greatly to be regretted that St. Paul's is so much hemmed*

in by the surrounding buildings. The view of the grand façade with the dome rising above it, from the east end of Ludgate Street, is, however, uncommonly fine; and a good view of a portion of the building is now obtained from the opening made at the south end of the new Post Office. The dome appears to great advantage from the bridges and the river; and is seen at a great distance from all parts of the surrounding country, towering above the smoke by which the city is generally enveloped.

The effect of the smoke on the structure is not a little curious. In the parts protected from the weather it adheres, and the building has, in consequence, a black and sooty appearance; while, on the other hand, the parts exposed to the weather seem bleached or whitened. But this sort of pie-bald aspect has not the bad effect that might *à priori* be expected.

*Westminster Abbey*, which, next to St. Paul's is the noblest ecclesiastical edifice in London, dates from the 13th century, though portions of the edifice, erected by Edward the Confessor, may still form part of the building. Great additions were made to it by Henry VII., who built the splendid chapel that still bears his name; and at the beginning of the last century the two towers of the west front were added, from designs furnished by Sir Christopher Wren. In 1803 a considerable part of the building was destroyed by fire; but it has since been completely repaired, and Henry VIIIth's Chapel renovated in its original style. It is 360 feet in length, and 195 wide, within the walls. Though built at many different times between the reigns of Henry III. and Henry VII. and never quite completed, it offers one of the best specimens of the pointed style in England. It is in the form of a cross, the shape of which, externally at least, at the east end, is almost obliterated by twelve minor chapels, of which that of Henry VII. is the largest and finest. The great variety of the abbey renders any thing like a general description impossible. The north side, with its beautiful gate, may be considered the principal front; but the view is much injured by

the interference of St. Margaret's church, which ought to be removed. It presents a line of ornamental turreted buttresses and pointed windows, with a fanciful sculptured porch, decorated with immense flying buttresses, lofty pinnacles, and a large wheel window 32 feet in diameter. The most striking view of the interior is from the west entrance, where the lofty pointed aisles, clustered columns, rich tracery work, and monumental decorations, judiciously lighted by painted windows, present a harmonious effect well calculated to arrest the attention of the most insensible. Many of the most illustrious of the statesmen, orators, warriors, philosophers, divines, poets, and distinguished individuals of all sorts, celebrated in the annals of the empire, are buried within its precincts; and their monuments, though often in bad taste, being distributed all over the Abbey, give it the highest interest, and deeply impress the mind with feelings of awe and veneration. Since its restoration in 1820, Henry VIIIth's chapel has formed the most beautiful of the subordinate portions of the Abbey: it is universally considered a gem, and is, undoubtedly, a very choice specimen of its style.

The other churches of London have no pretensions to be compared with those last mentioned. Of those which escaped the great fire of 1666, St. Saviour's in the Borough, and the Temple Church, deserve special mention. The former, recently restored to much of its ancient freshness, is a good specimen of the architecture of the 14th century; the latter, which will be subsequently noticed, is still more ancient, and is remarkable for its peculiar architecture, and for the fine Norman arch forming the entrance to the building. After the fire, several churches were built by Sir Christopher Wren, but the fame of St. Paul's has obscured the lustre of his other works. Bow Church, in Cheapside, St. Bride's, Fleet Street, and St. Stephen's, Walbrook, are the most admired of Sir Christopher's churches. The latter, which has recently been renovated, is entitled to the highest *praise*. "He has not omitted a single beauty of which the

design was capable; but has supplied them all with infinite grace." (*Dallaway's Anecdotes*, p. 142.) In the early part of last century several churches were erected, of which St. Martin's, St. George's, Hanover Square, and St. George's, Bloomsbury, have very fine porticoes, especially St. Martin's. Within the last fifty years, however, a complete change, and, which is worse, a great deterioration, took place in our ecclesiastical architecture. St. Pancras church, and some others, may, perhaps, be excepted from this censure; but an extreme poverty of architectural talent was shown in designing new churches, which are quite unworthy of those formerly erected, and of the city. More recently, however, the taste has been again improved; though the Gothic or mediæval style be now, perhaps, too universally followed. The places of worship for Dissenters are, with few exceptions, plain brick buildings, well arranged for the accommodation of large congregations, but constructed with little attention to ornament or taste.

*Lambeth Palace.*—One of the most extensive and imposing buildings south of the Thames is Lambeth Palace, on the river's bank, nearly opposite the new Houses of Parliament. The original building, erected in 1191, was first intended for a college of canons; but, as the pope refused his consent to its establishment, it was converted into an archiepiscopal palace, and has ever since been the town residence of the primate of all England. Great additions were made to it about 1250, and in the fifteenth century Archbishop Chichele built a square stone tower towards the river, called the Lollards' Tower, from the fact of some of those early reformers having been confined in it. Subsequent additions were made by Cranmer, Pole, Parker, Juxton, Sancroft, and Tillotson; but the whole, as seen from the outside, is a heavy dull-looking brick structure, little interesting except from its antiquity. The late additions, however, completed in 1833, at a cost, including internal fittings, of nearly 80,000*l.*, are executed in better taste. The new buildings,

of Bath stone, stand in the gardens, east of the old palace: the principal edifice is a splendid structure, the ornamental portions, which are particularly rich, being copied from Westminster and St. Alban's Abbeys. The entrance front, flanked with square towers, is 160 feet in length, the opposite or garden front being 30 feet longer. The principal rooms are of fine proportions, and richly though chastely embellished, the wood-work being almost wholly of oak. The library is perhaps one of the finest parts of the interior; and though remarkably plain in its decorations and furniture, produces, from its great size, a very imposing effect. It contains upwards of 25,000 volumes, among which are sundry rare works in classics, divinity, &c.; and the MSS. (some being connected with the history of the see, and others of a miscellaneous character) are said to be very valuable. In the older parts of the building the chief rooms are the long gallery, containing a curious collection of paintings, chiefly portraits of former prelates; the great hall, with an open roof of oak, presenting one of the best specimens in the country of internal Gothic decorations; and the chapel, a small but extremely elegant apartment, fitted up with oak stalls, pews, and an exquisitely carved pulpit and screen. The altar-piece, however, ill accords with the rest of the fittings, being of the Corinthian order, painted and gilt! The park and gardens belonging to the palace occupy about eighteen acres: they are completely walled round; nearly four acres are appropriated to the kitchen garden, the rest being planted, and laid out in shrubberies.

*Cemeteries.*—The crowded state of most of the metropolitan churchyards, and the growing conviction of their injurious influence over the health of the neighbourhoods in which they are placed, have, within these few years, suggested the establishment of public cemeteries at some distance from town. The first of these, at Kensal Green, occupying a piece of ground forty-eight acres in extent, tastefully planted and laid out, was

opened in 1832. It is situated about two miles north-west of London; and has chapels where the funeral service is performed according to the rites of the Church of England, and of other religious persuasions. The success of this undertaking, which was long opposed by ignorant prejudice, led to the construction of other cemeteries. That at Highgate, consecrated in 1838, and occupying about twenty acres, in an elevated situation north of the city, commands a very extensive view. The Norwood Cemetery, six miles south of the city, is double the size of that last mentioned. Other cemeteries have been completed, at Abney Park, Stoke Newington; Earl's Court, Brompton; and at Victoria Park and Bow Common in the east. Hitherto, however, the new cemeteries have been too far from town, and too expensive, to be used by the poorer classes. But others of a less costly description will, no doubt, be speedily provided for their use. The act of the 13 & 14 Vict. c. 52. (1850), providing for the abolition of intramural interment, provides also for the formation of new burial grounds in convenient situations, and at reasonable rates of charge.

*Commerce.*—London is not only the capital of a great empire, but is one of the first commercial cities of the world. Her intercourse extends to the remotest countries, and her merchants are not surpassed for wealth, enterprise, and integrity. The establishments connected with commerce are on a scale commensurate with the amount of business to be transacted. The public buildings for commercial purposes consist chiefly of the Bank of England, East India House, Royal Exchange, Custom House, Corn Exchange, and Coal Exchange.

*The Bank of England*, from its first incorporation in 1694 to 1734, transacted its affairs at Grocers' Hall, in the Poultry. The first stone of the present building was laid in 1732; forty years afterwards the east and west wings were added; and in 1781 the church of St. Christopher was taken down to make room for further additions. Until 1825 this edifice exhibited a

great variety of incongruous styles; but endeavours have since been made, and with some success, to produce uniformity. The building is insulated, and covers eight acres; its shape is an irregular parallelogram, the longest side measuring 440 feet. Many of the rooms in the interior, such as the court-room, pay-hall, and dividend-office, are spacious and well-proportioned: the largest and loftiest of all is the rotunda, a circular hall, 57 feet in diameter, and crowned by a handsome cupola and lantern. The chief transactions connected with the funds take place in this apartment. The affairs of the Bank of England are managed by a governor, deputy-governor, and twenty-four directors elected annually. The business is conducted by about 800 clerks, whose salaries amount to about 190,000*l*. A valuable library, intended for their especial use, has recently been established in the Bank by the liberality of the directors.

Statement of the Liabilities and Assets of the Bank of England, on the 7th of September, 1850, that is, of the Bank Notes in circulation, and the public and private Deposits held by the Bank, on the one hand, and of the Securities and Bullion in her possession, on the other.

Liabilities.		Assets.	
	£		£
Circulation.		Public securities	- 14,430,847
Bank notes	- 19,421,585	Private ditto	- 11,700,259
Post bills -	- 1,260,758	Bullion -	- 16,706,943
Deposits, public	- 8,885,786		42,285,049
Ditto, private	- 9,106,676	Rest, or excess of assets	
	38,674,805	over liabilities	- 3,610,244

In 1844 the charter of the Bank was continued till 1855, its capital being then also fixed at 11,015,100*l*. lent to government at 3 per cent. Branch banks in connection with the Bank of England have, since 1826, been established in most large towns, the chief business of which is to discount bills, issue notes, and transmit money to and from London. The profits of the Bank accrue from interest on Exchequer bills, discounts of commercial

bills, interest on the capital lent to government, an allowance of about 90,000*l.* a year for managing the public debt, and some other sources. The dividend received by the proprietors is 7 per cent.

Account of the Deposits in the different Metropolitan Savings' Banks on the 28th of November, 1848.

	£	s.	d.
Bloomfield Street, Moorfields - - -	726,296	9	5
Bloomsbury, Montague Street - - -	461,793	3	0
Camden Town - - - - -	13,567	8	4
Chelsea - - - - -	126,977	17	3
St. Clement Danes - - - - -	84,632	2	4
Covent Garden - - - - -	25,786	0	10
Farringdon Street - - - - -	78,212	13	9
Finsbury - - - - -	181,924	5	9
Fitzroy Square, Upper Charlotte Street - -	118,321	13	11
St. Giles, Without, Cripplegate - - -	67,523	17	1
Hackney - - - - -	24,552	1	7
Hackney, Kingsland Road - - - - -	7,778	0	11
Hampstead - - - - -	12,749	19	4
Highgate - - - - -	2,020	13	7
Hoxton - - - - -	6,344	16	5
Islington - - - - -	43,429	16	9
Kensington - - - - -	32,458	0	7
Limehouse - - - - -	39,755	9	6
St. Martin's Place - - - - -	1,114,617	6	5
Mary-le-bone, St. - - - - -	292,426	10	8
Paddington - - - - -	47,328	19	6
Poplar - - - - -	31,232	6	8
Stepney - - - - -	38,002	7	9
Westminster - - - - -	44,907	11	10
Whitechapel - - - - -	145,246	18	0
Camberwell, Peckham, &c. - - - - -	43,724	3	9
Clapham - - - - -	35,453	3	10
Kennington - - - - -	7,085	7	11
Lambeth - - - - -	55,091	2	11
Lambeth, St. John's - - - - -	20,786	7	5
Rotherhithe - - - - -	6,335	14	6
Southwark - - - - -	257,134	4	10
Stoke Newington - - - - -	11,954	13	11
Total - - - - -	4,205,451	10	3

But it must not be supposed that anything like the whole of this immense sum has been deposited by those for whose especial behoof savings' banks were devised. On the contrary a very



large proportion of the deposits belongs to parties in the middle ranks of life, who have been tempted to make use of savings' banks by the high rate of interest they have allowed. It is much to be regretted that artisans make so little use of these establishments: however high their wages may previously have been, they are usually found, when they happen to be thrown out of employment, to be all but destitute.

Of about fifty-five private banking houses at present in London, two at least were in existence before the Bank of England, viz. those of Messrs. Child, Temple Bar, and Messrs. Hoare, Fleet Street. Within the last few years numerous joint-stock banking companies have been established in the city, on the model of the Scotch banks; and the presumption seems to be that they will gradually supersede the private bankers.

*The Royal Exchange*, originally erected by Sir T. Gresham, in 1566, was burnt down in the great fire. It was rebuilt within three years, and extensively repaired between 1820 and 1826. Having been again destroyed by fire on the 10th of January, 1838, it has been again rebuilt, from a design by Mr. Tite, and is now one of the colossal fabrics of the city. It is quadrangular, and has a colonnade and pediment fronting Cornhill. The court inside is surrounded by piazzas; but the merchants and others frequenting the building are not sufficiently protected from the weather, a defect which is much and justly complained of. In the quadrangle is a statue of Her Majesty by Lough, and it is further ornamented with statues of Queen Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Gresham, and Sir Hugh Myddelton. Lloyds, and the Royal Exchange Assurance, have their offices in the building. It was opened on the 28th of October, 1844.

*The East India House*, in Leadenhall Street, is the place where the East India Company's business is chiefly transacted: it was first built in 1726, but has been since so much altered and enlarged, that scarcely any part of the old edifice now remains. It has a stone front with a portico supported by six

fluted Ionic columns, above which are a frieze and pediment ornamented with sculpture. The interior comprises numerous apartments, of which the largest are the court-room, the committee-room, and the two sale-rooms. In the east wing are the library and museum; the former contains a pretty extensive collection of works connected with the arts, sciences, and literature of Asia, and some rare Oriental MSS. The museum, which is open every Saturday, is furnished with a great variety of Indian curiosities, &c. The East India Company is now an exclusively political institution; the act 3 & 4 Will. 4. prolonging the charter till 1854, having debarred the Company from the privilege of trading.

*River and Port.*—What is legally termed the port of London extends six miles and a half below London Bridge to Bugsby's Hole, beyond Blackwall; though the actual port, consisting of the upper, middle, and lower pools, does not reach beyond Limehouse. The whole of the latter space is generally covered with vessels; a channel, only 300 feet wide, being left clear for craft passing up and down the river. The port having been long insufficient for the proper accommodation of the shipping resorting to London, and being often blocked up by fleets of merchantmen, the quays also being heaped with bales, boxes, bags, and barrels, in such confusion that the most barefaced robberies were committed with impunity, the necessity of further protection for merchandise became evident. Accordingly, at the close of last century, it was determined to excavate wet docks, capable of accommodating a large number of ships, with contiguous warehouses, the whole being inclosed by high walls. The West India Docks, the first of these establishments, and the largest belonging to the port, were opened in 1802. They are situated about four miles down the river: including the City Canal, a work intended for another object, but now a part of this establishment, they comprise about 295 acres, one-fourth of which is covered with water, the rest being occupied with quays and warehouses, the

latter of great magnitude, and furnished with every convenience. They have an import and an export dock, with sufficient accommodation for 500 large merchantmen. The London Docks, about one mile and a half from London Bridge, were opened in 1805. They cover about 100 acres of ground, of which nearly a third part is water. The vaults beneath the warehouses have cellarage for 65,000 pipes of wine, and one of them has an area of seven acres! The tobacco warehouses are very extensive. The East India Docks, smaller than those above described, and further down the river, were opened in 1808. Their water-area is thirty acres, and their great depth (23 feet) enables them to accommodate vessels of very large size. The East and West India Dock Companies are now incorporated, and form only one association. The Commercial Docks, on the south side of the river, consist principally of the old docks for the Greenland ships, enlarged and provided with warehouses for bonding foreign corn. They comprise forty-nine acres, forty of which are water; and are principally used by vessels engaged in the Baltic and east country commerce and the importation of timber. The St. Katherine's Docks, opened in 1828, are the nearest to London Bridge, being just below the Tower. They inclose twenty-four acres, of which eleven and a half are water. The warehouses, which are on a very extensive scale, are close to the quays, having the lower or basement story open for the purpose of receiving or delivering goods from and to vessels that are being laden or unladen; the arcades are supported by iron columns of great strength. These docks have all been constructed, at a vast expense, by joint-stock companies; and have on the whole been profitable concerns, though they have redounded more to the advantage of the port than to that of their projectors.

The number of colliers frequenting the port has often suggested the idea of excavating docks for their accommodation in *the Isle of Dogs*, opposite Greenwich; but nothing has yet

been effected towards the execution of this plan. According to the present system, that part of the port below the lower pool serves as a place of anchorage for the colliers, only a certain number of which are allowed to be in the pool at once, and a flag is hoisted to notify when it is full. On the flag being hauled down, the first collier in rank enters the pool, and the others follow, until the number is completed, when the flag is again hoisted; the rest wait their turn. The following statement of the quantities of coal and culm brought into the port at different periods, from 1820 to 1849, both inclusive, shows the consumption of coal in London. The great increase within the last dozen years is chiefly owing to the introduction of steam navigation and gas lighting.

	Tons.		Tons.
1820 - - -	1,692,335	1843 - - -	2,628,520
1825 - - -	1,820,975	1844 - - -	2,490,910
1830 - - -	2,005,304	1845 - - -	3,408,320
1835 - - -	2,299,820	1846 - - -	2,953,755
1840 - - -	2,566,899	1847 - - -	3,280,420
1841 - - -	2,909,562	1848 - - -	3,418,340
1842 - - -	2,723,200	1849 - - -	3,339,146

Account of the Coal imported into London in 1849; specifying the Ports whence the Coal was shipped, and the Number of Cargoes and Tons imported from each.

Ports whence shipped.	Cargoes.	Tons.
Newcastle - - - - -	4,545	1,422,670
Sunderland - - - - -	3,371	927,314
Stockton - - - - -	2,872	749,568
Blyth - - - - -	435	95,225
Scotland, ports of - - - - -	30	4,509
South Wales, do. - - - - -	389	94,041
Yorkshire, do., &c. - - - - -	376	38,740
Total of Coal - - - - -	12,018	3,332,067
Culm - - - - -	6	1,173
Cinders - - - - -	50	5,906
Total - - - - -	12,074	3,339,146

Exclusive of the above, a small quantity of coal, amounting in 1849 to 41,640 tons, is brought to London by inland navigation and by railway.

The new *Coal Exchange*, in Lower Thames Street, is a magnificent, though rather incongruous, building. The great hall, which is circular, is 60 feet in diameter, and 74 feet to the apex of the glazed dome by which it is covered. The structure cost about 40,000*l*.

The *Custom House*, a large building by the river-side, between London Bridge and the Tower, was opened for business in 1817. The old one was burnt down in 1814, though not before the present building was begun, the former having been inconveniently small. The river-front, 480 feet in length, is built of Portland stone, and, though rather plain, is decorated by three porticoes, each supported by six Ionic columns. The *long room*, where the public business is transacted, is 185 feet in length, 66 feet in width, and 55 feet in height. Owing to the insufficiency of its foundations this structure became insecure, and had to undergo some very extensive repairs in 1825.

The immense extent of the trade of London will be apparent from the subjoined statement of the gross customs revenue of the port in the undermentioned years:—

1835 -	-	-	£ 11,773,616.	1847 -	-	-	£ 10,597,442.
1840 -	-	-	11,088,053	1848 -	-	-	11,193,707
1845 -	-	-	11,033,806	1849 -	-	-	11,070,176
1846 -	-	-	10,895,156				

Now, as the total gross customs revenue of the United Kingdom amounted, in 1849, to 22,483,956*l*., it would seem from this statement that the import trade of London only equalled that of all the rest of the kingdom! This, however, would be a most fallacious inference. The imports into several of the other great ports, including Liverpool, Hull, Dundee, &c., consist

principally of cotton, wool, flax, and other raw materials of our manufactures, which are mostly admitted free of duty; whereas the imports into London consist principally of articles of consumption, including tobacco, sugar, tea, coffee, wine, timber, &c., on which high duties are paid. Hence it is that the amounts of the import duties collected in different ports afford no fair criterion, or, indeed, any criterion at all, of the real extent of their import trade. In regard to exports, the articles produced in London are intended more for the home than for foreign demand, and do not constitute any very large proportion of the shipments to foreign parts. These, however, are notwithstanding very large; for, owing to the extreme facility of communication between London and the manufacturing districts, and the low rates at which goods may be lodged in the dock warehouses, London has greater facilities than any other port for the making up of mixed or assorted cargoes, and has, in consequence, a large export trade. Thus, in 1849, the declared value of the goods exported from London amounted to 11,748,833*l.*, being, we believe, about the same as the value of the exports from Hull. But during the same year the declared value of the exports from Liverpool amounted to no less than 32,341,918*l.*, or to nearly three times the value of the exports from London. There can, therefore, be no doubt that as respects foreign trade London is surpassed by Liverpool, and, perhaps, also, by New York. But as regards foreign and home trade taken together, London is at least equal to any other place. She may be truly said to be *universi orbis terrarum emporium*; and owing to her being the grand mart of all the rich, extensive, and densely-peopled districts included within the basin of the Thames, we do not think, provided the country continue to prosper, that there is any ground for apprehending any falling off in the commerce of London. It is impossible to form any accurate estimate of the total value of the produce conveyed into and from London;

but, including the home and foreign markets, we believe it will not be overrated at the prodigious sum of *sixty-five* millions sterling.

Some idea, however imperfect, may be formed of the extent and distribution of the trade of London from the following statements.

An Account of the Number and Tonnage of those ships that entered the Port of London with Cargoes from Foreign Parts, in 1848, distinguishing the Countries whence they came.

Countries.	British.		Foreign.	
	Ships.	Tons.	Ships.	Tons.
Russia - - - -	611	142,064	83	24,738
Sweden - - - -	78	8,773	222	54,526
Norway - - - -	2	205	207	57,447
Denmark - - - -	115	14,949	718	54,697
Prussia - - - -	494	72,195	153	31,967
German States - - - -	425	81,058	351	27,814
Holland - - - -	560	115,823	356	27,128
Belgium - - - -	301	48,944	180	27,487
France - - - -	692	92,738	541	30,648
Portugal, Azores, and Madeira -	346	36,586	7	687
Spain and Canaries - - - -	229	23,061	34	3,390
Italian States - - - -	148	22,972	19	4,905
Ionian Islands - - - -	26	3,607		
Greece - - - -	64	9,530		
Moldavia and Wallachia - - - -	6	897	1	159
Turkish Dominions - - - -	39	6,571		
Syria and Palestine - - - -	2	210		
Egypt - - - -	88	25,663	1	189
Tunis, Algeria, and Morocco -	11	1,295		
Africa, Foreign Possessions -	2	428		
Asia, ditto - - - -	20	8,259	4	1,973
China (exclusive of Hong Kong) -	53	24,118		
West Indies, Foreign - - - -	72	18,363	55	13,865
America, U. States - - - -	29	11,192	101	62,984
Ditto, Central and S. States -	211	65,817	17	4,141
Whale Fisheries - - - -	12	4,312		
Total -	4,636	839,130	3,050	428,745

Account of the Ships entering the Port of London from 1825 to 1845, both inclusive, distinguishing between British and Foreign Ships from Foreign Ports, and Coasters.

Years.	Foreign Parts.				Coasters.	
	British.		Foreign.		Vessels.	Tonnage.
	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.		
1825	3,989	758,565	1,743	302,122	19,527	2,360,626
1826	3,493	675,026	1,586	215,264	20,439	2,441,746
1827	4,012	769,102	1,534	221,008	17,677	2,226,040
1828	4,084	767,212	1,303	195,929	No. of coasters not stated during these five years.	
1829	4,108	784,070	1,300	215,605		
1830	3,910	744,229	1,268	207,500		
1831	4,140	780,988	1,557	269,159		
1832	3,274	640,057	886	154,514		
1833	3,421	678,289	1,061	175,883	19,336	2,517,221
1834	3,786	735,693	1,280	216,063	20,069	2,593,857
1835	3,780	740,255	1,057	188,893	20,471	2,764,982
1836	3,845	772,046	1,465	255,875	20,765	2,810,878
1837	4,079	821,788	1,547	240,135	21,322	2,911,736
1838	4,366	893,925	1,727	277,902	21,592	2,908,176
1839	4,880	988,867	2,375	357,163	21,112	2,828,701
1840	4,547	934,660	2,221	354,456	21,619	2,850,813
1841	4,642	999,259	1,999	317,608	22,726	3,030,713
1842	4,767	1,002,453	1,640	281,468	21,967	2,929,567
1843	4,589	1,022,550	1,633	295,121	22,300	2,901,271
1844	4,741	1,008,463	2,144	353,346	22,738	2,890,396
1845	5,123	1,109,387	2,439	393,104		

An Account of the Number and Tonnage of Coasting Vessels that have entered the Port of London, in each Year from 1835 to 1844, both inclusive.

Years.	General Coasters, including Colliers.		Irish Traders.		Total.	
	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
1835	19,308	2,604,906	1,163	160,076	20,471	2,764,982
1836	19,717	2,656,869	1,048	154,009	20,765	2,810,878
1837	20,201	2,743,854	1,121	167,882	21,322	2,911,736
1838	20,333	2,727,741	1,259	180,435	21,592	2,908,176
1839	20,205	2,686,621	907	142,080	21,112	2,828,701
1840	20,413	2,701,058	1,006	149,755	21,619	2,850,813
1841	21,381	2,843,368	1,345	187,345	22,726	3,030,713
1842	20,898	2,769,984	1,069	159,583	21,967	2,929,567
1843	20,958	2,711,803	1,342	189,468	22,300	2,901,271
1844	21,494	2,706,743	1,244	183,653	22,738	2,890,396



An Account of the Number and Tonnage of Ships that entered the Port of London in 1848, with Cargoes from the Colonies and Dependencies of England.

Colonies.	Ships.	Tonn.
Gibraltar - - - - -	7	1,193
Malta - - - - -	8	1,335
British Possessions in Africa - - - - -	165	45,686
Ditto in Asia - - - - -	383	190,452
<i>America, viz:—</i>		
British Northern Colonies - - - - -	344	143,224
Ditto West Indies - - - - -	328	97,838
Isles of Guernsey, Jersey, and Man - - - - -	608	66,467
Total - - - - -	1,843	546,195

An Account of the Number and Tonnage of Coasting Vessels, distinguishing between Sailing and Steam Vessels, that entered the Port of London in 1848 and 1849.

	1848.		1849.	
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
Sailing Vessels - - -	21,561	2,927,123	20,153	2,731,519
Steamers - - - - -	1,023	315,444	969	304,465
Totals - - - - -	22,584	3,242,572	21,122	3,035,984

An Account of the Number and Tonnage of Vessels from Foreign Ports, distinguishing between Sailing and Steam Vessels, and between British and Foreign do., that entered the Port of London in 1848 and 1849.

	1848.		1849.	
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
Sailing vessels, British	3,562	593,291	3,910	610,555
Steamers, - ditto -	1,080	247,457	1,211	275,042
Sailing vessels, Foreign	2,961	400,605	2,904	407,432
Steamers, - ditto -	115	30,836	142	37,563
Totals - - - - -	7,718	1,272,189	8,167	1,330,292

On the 1st of January, 1850, the following ships belonged to the port of London, viz. :

	Under 50 Tons.		Above 50 Tons.		Totals.	
	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.	Vessels.	Tons.
Sailing vessels -	706	23,129	2,029	579,672	2,735	602,801
Steam-vessels -	110	3,599	208	61,097	318	64,696
Total of sailing and steam-vessels -	816	26,728	2,237	640,769	3,053	667,497

The crews may amount to about 35,000 men and boys. This, which is a greater amount of shipping than belongs to any other British port\*, will appear the greater, when it is recollected that the colliers almost all belong to Newcastle, Sunderland, and other ports in the north. An immense number of barges are employed in the loading and unloading of colliers and other vessels in the river. The out-of-doors establishment of the customs, which is mostly all employed in the business of the port, comprises a very large number of individuals.

The *insurance* of houses, ships, lives, &c. is carried on to a far greater extent in London than any where else. Marine insurances are mostly effected by private parties; but other insurances are generally made by joint-stock companies. Some of these have been very successful, and have accumulated vast sums. It is believed, however, that not a few insurance companies are of a very questionable description; and the conviction seems to be gradually gaining ground, that some public regulations should be laid down for the formation and guidance of such companies, so as to protect the insured against the extravagance, mismanagement, and bad faith of the directors.

*Manufactures, retail trade, and markets.* — London presents itself under too many points of view to be called a manufacturing

\* We say British port, for it is surpassed by the shipping of New York, which amounted in 1849 to 796,492 tons.

city; yet it is the seat of many, and of some very extensive, manufactures, several of which have their distinct quarters.

The silk manufacture is conducted on a large scale in Spitalfields, Bethnal Green, and Mile-End. It employed, in 1840, about 7,000 hands, which may, probably, be about the number at present engaged in it. The trade fluctuates extremely, owing chiefly to the caprices of fashion, and great numbers of workmen are often thrown out of employment; but the distress, so often said to prevail in this densely-peopled district, is owing at least as much to the drunken and improvident habits of many of the weavers as to any falling off in the demand for labour. The nett wages of plain silk weavers, when fully employed, range from 9s. to 12s., and those of velvet weavers from 15s. to 23s. a week. With respect to physical condition, this numerous body are, speaking generally, diminutive, impoverished, and feeble, unable to withstand disease, and not long-lived,—circumstances attributable to close in-door employment, bad air, bad lodging, and bad food. We shall elsewhere notice the tendency to epidemic fevers in close and ill-drained neighbourhoods; and in no part of London are the fatal effects of lodging in close courts and cellars more visible than in Spitalfields and Bethnal Green. (See *Dr. S. Smith's Evidence before the Committee on Health of Towns*, pp. 1—7.)

Porter is the favourite beverage of the lower and also of a considerable proportion of the middle classes of London. The breweries in which this favourite liquor is prepared are mostly on a very large scale; and are, indeed, by far the greatest manufacturing establishments in the metropolis, much exceeding any thing of the kind to be found any where else. In addition to the capital vested in buildings, machinery, horses, &c., a first-rate brewery has also a large amount of capital vested in public-houses in all parts of the town. The principal establishments produce from 200,000 to 270,000 barrels a year, principally *porter*, but partly also ale. It has been estimated, that about

1,200,000 barrels, or 43,200,000 gallons of porter and ale are brewed for consumption in London only, besides which great quantities are sent to different parts of the United Kingdom, and exported to the East and West Indies, the United States, and continental Europe. In 1848-49, the consumption of malt by the different brewers, victuallers, &c., in the London collection amounted to 6,299,908 bush. The splendid teams of horses in the drays belonging to the chief breweries are among the objects most worthy of admiration in the metropolis. There are several very extensive distilleries, vinegar-factories, chemical works, and soap-boiling houses, most of which are situated on the south side of the river. In 1849, 44,548,865 lbs. of hard and 618,917 lbs. of soft soap were made in London. About twenty large engineering establishments employ several hundred workmen in making steam-engines and other machinery, chiefly in Lambeth and Southwark.

The principal sugar refineries are in Whitechapel, east of the city. Clock and watchmakers, who are numerous, reside principally in Clerkenwell. The finest cutlery and hardware are produced, and the manufacture of metals of all kinds is carried on to a great extent. In 1847, 4,783 ounces of gold plate, and 860,799 ounces, silver ditto, were assayed in London, being double the quantity of the gold plate and four times the quantity of the silver plate assayed in the rest of the United Kingdom. Coach-building is an important business; and the carriages of London are not only the handsomest, but the best built and most durable of any in the empire. Great numbers are made for exportation. Many hands are employed in type founding, constructing musical instruments, and in engraving music. The tanning, currying, and dressing of leather is carried on more extensively in Bermondsey than anywhere else in the United Kingdom. And notwithstanding large numbers of shoes are imported ready made from Northampton and other places, their manufacture and that of harness gives employment

to an immense number of hands in the metropolis. In proof of this we may mention that of 187,943 shoemakers and 14,091 saddlers in England and Wales in 1841, no fewer than 28,574 of the former, and 2,171 of the latter belonged to London. Ship-building, and the infinite variety of trades connected with shipping, are extensively carried on east of London Bridge. Owing to the extent to which the division of labour is carried, the tradesmen and artisans of London have attained to the greatest proficiency in their respective callings; and there cannot be a question that the jewellers, silversmiths, engravers, cabinet-makers, printers, tailors, shoemakers, book-binders, &c., of the metropolis are quite unrivalled.

There are no means of forming anything like even a rough estimate of the extent of the retail trade of London, but it must be immense. The trades, generally speaking, are mixed indiscriminately, though some remains may yet be traced of the ancient custom of particular trades congregating in particular places. Thus we still find coach-makers in Long Acre, stay-makers in Holywell Street, booksellers in Paternoster Row, and bankers in Lombard Street. A good deal of business used to be transacted by itinerant venders; but these are now seldom met with. Fashionable shops attract attention by the magnificence and gorgeousness of their wares: their windows are, in many instances, made of the finest plate glass, set in brass frames, and their interior is frequently lined with mirrors. All sorts of devices, some of them being occasionally not of the most creditable kind, are used by shopkeepers to attract customers.

Classified Account, taken from the Population Returns of 1841, of the Persons, distinguishing their Sex and Ages, that were then engaged in the Principal Trades and Professions carried on in the Metropolis.

	Males.		Females.		Total.
	30 Years of Age and upwards.	Under 30 Years of Age.	30 Years of Age and upwards.	Under 30 Years of Age.	
Baker - - - - -	7,866	925	308	11	9,110
Blacksmith - - - - -	5,923	756	32	5	6,716
Bookseller, bookbinder, and publisher - - - - -	3,534	515	1,109	341	5,499
Boot and shoemaker - - - - -	22,400	2,457	3,157	560	28,574
Bricklayer - - - - -	6,270	449	24	-	6,743
Brush and broom maker - - - - -	1,461	222	372	100	2,155
Butcher - - - - -	5,502	814	134	-	6,350
Cabinet maker and upholsterer - - - - -	6,497	764	655	57	7,973
Carpenter and joiner - - - - -	16,965	1,273	83	-	18,321
Clerk (commercial) - - - - -	17,299	3,056	55	7	20,417
Clock and watchmaker - - - - -	3,700	523	63	4	4,290
Coachmaker (all branches) - - - - -	3,821	372	58	5	4,256
Cooper - - - - -	3,088	369	22	-	3,449
Currier and leather-seller - - - - -	2,095	195	37	1	2,328
Dressmaker and milliner - - - - -	107	10	17,183	3,480	20,780
Dyer, silk - - - - -	206	20	4	1	231
Engineer and engine worker - - - - -	3,642	503	5	1	4,151
Fishmonger and dealer - - - - -	1,604	139	119	4	1,866
Grocer and tea dealer - - - - -	3,944	475	560	7	4,986
Hatter and hat manufacturer (all branches) - - - - -	2,600	219	556	131	3,506
Jeweller, goldsmith, and silversmith - - - - -	3,421	478	67	5	3,971
Laundry keeper, washer, and mangle - - - - -	195	11	15,549	465	16,220
Mason, paviour, and stonecutter - - - - -	3,182	282	7	-	3,471
Merchant (general) - - - - -	3,831	39	20	-	3,890
Milkseller and cowkeeper - - - - -	2,003	73	670	18	2,764
Painter, plumber, and glazier - - - - -	10,513	914	75	5	11,507
Plasterer - - - - -	2,321	265	12	1	2,599
Porter, messenger, and errand boy - - - - -	10,282	2,725	79	16	13,103
Printer - - - - -	5,533	1,020	59	6	6,618
Saddler, and harness and collar-maker - - - - -	1,923	189	50	9	2,171
Seaman - - - - -	6,566	436	-	-	7,002
Servant, domestic - - - - -	29,595	9,705	95,916	33,485	168,701
Silk manufacturer (all branches); see also silk dyer - - - - -	3,593	440	2,566	550	7,151
Surgeon, apothecary, and medical student - - - - -	3,909	312	-	-	4,221
Tailor and breeches-maker - - - - -	18,513	1,752	2,795	457	23,517
Tavern-keeper, publican, and victualler - - - - -	4,290	60	502	9	4,861
Tobacconist, and tobacco and snuff manufacturer - - - - -	1,396	309	333	22	2,060
Warehouseman and woman - - - - -	3,400	376	54	4	3,834
Wheelwright - - - - -	2,189	162	14	-	2,365

The *Markets* of London are supplied at all seasons, and with all sorts of articles, whether produced in the United Kingdom or in the most distant countries, with a facility and a regularity that are truly marvellous, and could not *à priori* have been deemed possible. And now that the freedom of trade has been fully established, all articles are sold at their necessary prices, or at the prices required to produce them under the most favourable circumstances and to bring them to market. We are now,

also, for the first time in our history, in a situation freely to avail ourselves of all the peculiar products and advantages of climate, soil, and skill, with which Providence has endowed different countries. Inventions and discoveries made in China, the United States, or elsewhere, which lessen the cost of producing any desirable article, or facilitate its conveyance, will henceforth most probably conduce as much to our advantage as if they had been made in England. The age of monopolies and preferences has passed away; and while combinations for the purpose of artificially raising prices are all but impossible, they could not fail, were they really entered into, to be instantly defeated. Hence the fair presumption that in time to come our markets will be furnished with a still greater variety of products, of a continually improving quality, and sold at lower prices.

In the great provision markets articles are sold, partly by wholesale, and partly by retail. Generally, however, the inhabitants prefer purchasing at shops distinct from the markets. Smithfield is the great market for live stock, which is sold on Mondays and Fridays. No fewer than 1,514,130 sheep were sold here in 1849, with 223,560 head of cattle, and 26,422 calves. We may remark, by the way, that Smithfield market is situated in the very centre of the city; and this circumstance, by obliging the stock to be driven to and from it through crowded streets, makes it an abominable nuisance. Frequent attempts have been made to have it removed to the suburbs, but hitherto without effect. London is also totally unprovided with proper slaughter-houses, or *abattoirs*, and in this respect, behind Paris and other continental cities. Exclusive of the stock brought to Smithfield market, a good number of cattle and sheep are imported in steamers, and privately so; and in the colder months slaughtered cattle and sheep are extensively imported, particularly from the ports on the east coast. The Newgate and Leadenhall markets, with the Whitechapel cattle and sheep butchers, supply most part of the butchers of the town and neighbourhood.

Covent Garden is the principal vegetable market, and the immense supply of the finest fruits and vegetables, and the beauty of the plants on sale, make it well worth a visit. Billingsgate is the great fish-market, whence fish of all sorts are distributed to the shops and markets in different parts of the town. Hungerford market is also a well-supplied fish *dépôt*; but at this and Farringdon market, butchers' meat, fruit, and vegetables are also sold. The corn market, held in a fine Doric building in Mark Lane, is attended almost exclusively by wholesale dealers.

Different statements have, from time to time, been put forth respecting the consumption of the principal products brought to London; but, with the exception of coal, and one or two other articles, there are no means by which to arrive at any thing like a correct conclusion. Allowing for the carcasses imported by steam and otherwise, the annual consumption of butchers' meat may, however, be, at present, estimated at about 240,000 bullocks, 1,700,000 sheep, 28,000 calves, and 35,000 pigs; exclusive of vast quantities of bacon and ham.

Leadenhall is the principal market for the sale of poultry and game; and, according to a curious and apparently authentic statement that recently appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, the sale of these articles in that market, in 1849, was as follows, *viz.*,

TAME BIRDS AND DOMESTIC FOWLS.					
Fowls	-	-	Nos. 1,266,000	Turkeys	- - Nos. 69,000
Geese	-	-	888,000	Pigeons	- - — 284,500
Ducks	-	-	235,000		
Total, 2,742,500.					

WILD BIRDS, ANIMALS, AND GAME.					
Grouse	-	-	Nos. 45,000	Plovers	- - Nos. 28,000
Partridges	-	-	84,500	Larks	- - — 213,000
Pheasants	-	-	43,900	Wild Birds	- - — 39,500
Teal	-	-	10,000	Hares	- - — 48,000
Widgeons	-	-	30,000	Rabbits	- - — 680,000
Snipe	-	-	60,000		

Total, 1,281,900.

Total of Birds and Animals, 4,024,400.



But, in addition to the above, very great quantities are sold in Newgate and other markets, and many poulterers, in all parts of the town, and private families, are supplied, in whole or in part, direct from the country, and not at second-hand from the markets. In severe winters there are large supplies of wild ducks, principally from Holland, woodcocks, &c. Snipes come principally from Ireland. Three-fourths of the pigeons come from France. Black-cocks are all from Scotland. Sometimes, after a grand *battue*, there is a glut of hares and pheasants in Leadenhall market.

Exclusive of those brought from the different parts of the United Kingdom, from 70 to 75 millions of eggs are annually imported into London from France and other foreign countries! About 13,000 cows are kept in the city and its environs for the supply of milk and cream; and if we add to their value that of the cheese and butter brought to the city, the expenditure on dairy produce will appear to be enormous. The consumption of wheat, in the shape of flour and otherwise, may, perhaps, be estimated at about 1,600,000 quarters a year; and the vast number of horses in London, and their high keep, must occasion an immense consumption of oats. The imports of salmon from Scotland and other parts of the United Kingdom may be estimated at from 2,500,000 lbs. to 3,000,000 lbs. a year; and to this have to be added the large quantities that are now imported from Holland and the North of Europe. The supplies of turbot, cod, lobsters, oysters, and shrimps, are quite immense. The best cod is brought from the Dogger bank, and the greater number of the lobsters from Norway. The value of the fish, vegetables, &c., consumed in the city, has been set down by some intrepid calculators; but the data on which they formed their estimates were too loose and unsatisfactory to entitle them to any credit.

*External and internal Communication.*—The communication between London and foreign countries is carried on partly by sailing vessels, and partly by steamers, regular lines of

packets of both descriptions of vessels being established with the principal foreign and colonial ports. These, also, are the media of communication between London and the various ports of Great Britain and Ireland. The intercourse with the interior is partly carried on by canals, partly by high-roads, and partly by railways. The latter, though of such recent date, already stretch from the metropolis to the most remote parts of the empire. They have multiplied the means and facilities of travelling in a degree which, but a few years ago, could not have been imagined. The journey to Dublin, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, is now regularly performed in about twelve hours; and it might be performed in considerably less time if such extreme speed were necessary. The cheapness of this rapid travelling, its comfort and security, are equally remarkable. What are called "pleasure trains," at extremely low fares, for the accommodation of the lower classes, are frequent in summer, and carry vast numbers of passengers. In addition to the great lines of communication, short lines are opened to Blackwall, Greenwich, Kew, Richmond, Windsor, and other places in the vicinity of town.

We may take this opportunity of stating that the Doric portico at the terminus of the Great North Western Railway at Euston Square, and the Hall inside, are amongst the most magnificent structures of their kind anywhere to be met with. The hall is 130 feet in length by 62 feet in width, and 64 feet in height.

The Thames is, also, a grand line of communication; the intercourse between the east and west ends of the city, and with the different places above and below the bridges, such as Putney, Barnes, Kew, Richmond, Kingston, &c., on the one hand, and Greenwich, Woolwich, Gravesend, Margate, &c., on the other, being kept up by means of steamers. Of these about seventy ply, during the summer season, between the limits above referred to; those plying between the bridges passing and

repassing almost incessantly. In fine weather, especially on Sundays, they convey vast numbers of passengers. According to a curious estimate that lately appeared (October, 1850) in the *Morning Chronicle*, the receipts of the river steamers amount in the season to nearly 10,000*l.* a week.

The port of London is connected with the Irish Sea by a chain of canals, of which the Regent's canal, passing along the north of the city, is the first link. The North Western and other railways are, also, connected with the port.

*Hackney-coaches* were introduced more than 200 years ago; and previously to the introduction of cabriolets, in 1820, were very numerous, but they are now all but wholly superseded by the latter. It is a singular and not easily explained fact, that, with but few if any exceptions, the hackney-coaches and cabs to be found in the streets of London are the dirtiest, shabbiest, and most uncomfortable carriages that are anywhere to be met with. The drivers are worthy of the carriages; the one and the other being a disgrace to the city, and such as would not be employed anywhere else.

*Literature.* — London ranks still higher as a literary than as a commercial city. Notwithstanding the factitious encouragement given to learning and science in Oxford and Cambridge, London is the favourite resort of literary and scientific men. Its immense population, the wealth and intelligence of its inhabitants, and the circumstance of its being the seat of government, attract aspiring individuals from all parts of the empire, especially those ambitious to distinguish themselves in literature or politics. The practical, common-sense character of the philosophy and literature of England is probably, indeed, in no small degree owing to its being principally cultivated in London, where the writers, by mixing with the world, learn to avoid those over-refined theories and fanciful distinctions in which recluse speculators are so apt to indulge. With the *exception of the provincial newspapers*, the whole periodical

literature of England centres in London. The number of persons engaged in this department, as authors, publishers, printers, &c., is very great. London has no fewer than twelve daily newspapers, excluding lists, and eighty that appear at other intervals. Many of these journals display great, and some consummate talent; and, considering the extreme rapidity with which articles for the daily journals must be written, and the want of time for revision, they are certainly extraordinary performances. So far as respects its newspaper press, London is infinitely superior to every other city; and however one-sided, prejudiced, and little to be depended on in party matters, it is not easy to imagine that it is likely to gain much in ability, variety, and interest.

It appears, from the *Stamp-office Returns*, that of 84,339,415 stamps, including supplements, issued to the different newspapers published in the United Kingdom during the year ended 31st December, 1849, no fewer than 49,006,730, or more than the half of the whole, were issued to those published in London! And when the superior ability and information of the London press is taken into account, its preponderance will appear still more striking. During the same year, the total amount of the duty on advertisements paid by the newspapers of the United Kingdom amounted to 163,211*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*, of which 69,512*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* was derived from the metropolitan journals.

A prodigious number of weekly, monthly, and quarterly magazines, reviews, and other publications, issue from the London press; and though many of these be of a very trashy and worthless description, a considerable number are of a widely different character, and are well fitted to amuse, instruct, and improve the reader. By far the greater number of these publications appear on the last day of every month, known among booksellers as "Magazine day;" when the great publishing houses make up and forward innumerable parcels,

containing every variety of works, to their correspondents in all parts of the kingdom.

The magnitude and importance of the periodical press of the metropolis will be best seen from the following statement, compiled by Messrs. Longman and Co. for 1850.

Description of Periodical.	Number.	Price.
Weekly Magazines, &c. - - -	35*	1d. to 8d.
Ditto parts of entire works - - -	5	1½d. to 2d.
Monthly Magazines, &c. - - -	262	½d. to 5s.
Ditto parts of entire works - - -	51	6d. to 10s.
Quarterly Reviews, &c. - - -	36	6d. to 7s. 6d.
Ditto parts of entire works - - -	3	4s. 6d. to 6s.
Transactions of Learned Societies - - -	30	2s. 6d. to 45s.
Law Reports - - -	28	
Total of Periodicals, &c. (not Newspapers) - - -	450	
Newspapers, daily morning - - -	7	average 5d.
Ditto, daily evening - - -	5	
Ditto, thrice a week - - -	3	
Ditto, twice a week - - -	5	
Ditto, once a week (including Sunday) - - -	72	3d. to 1s.
Total of Newspapers and stamped Publications - - -	92	

The greater number of the works written in Scotland are now published in Edinburgh; but nearly the whole of the myriads of works written in England and Ireland are published in London. The latter, in fact, is to the literature of Britain what Leipsic is to that of Germany, or Paris to that of France. The London publishers have agents all over the country, to whom they send new publications; so that in the few instances in which books are printed at Oxford or Cambridge, or other provincial towns, it is usual to send them to London to be published.

*Education.*—London, unlike most other European capitals, had no university empowered to grant degrees till 1836, when

\* This number (35) does not include the low class of periodicals, emanating chiefly from Wych Street and the purlieus of St. Giles's.

one was established by royal charter (renewed in 1837) for "the advancement of religion and morality, and the promotion of useful knowledge," without distinction of rank, sect, or party. This institution differs (and, as we think, advantageously) from all other universities, in its having nothing to do with the business of education, being constituted for the sole purpose of ascertaining the proficiency of candidates for academical distinctions. It is, in fact, a Board of Examiners, empowered to grant degrees in science and literature to such candidates as are found, on examination, to have attained the required proficiency. The senate, or board, consists of a chancellor, vice-chancellor, and thirty-five other members. The faculties are those of Arts, Law, and Medicine, in each of which are several examiners, some of whom are members of the senate. The sittings are held in Somerset House, and the examinations are half-yearly. The greatest number of candidates for degrees has hitherto been furnished by the University and King's Colleges, both of which are proprietary establishments. The former of these, opened in 1828, is governed by a council and senate of professors: the course of education embraces classics, pure and mixed science, history, jurisprudence, and medicine, religion being wholly excluded. The success of the medical school, which has for some years been the largest in London, has led to the erection of a good hospital close to the college. The general classes have not been so well attended as the more sanguine friends of the establishment at first expected; but the attendance is likely to be increased by the addition to the institution of a well-attended junior school, the instruction in which forms a good preparation for higher studies. King's College is a similar establishment to that last mentioned, and is similarly conducted, except that religion is taught in it in accordance with the principles of the Church of England. The general classes are well attended, as is the junior school. The medical school is small. The buildings of these establishments are

handsome and commodious : the portico of University College is one of the finest in London.

Among the literary and scientific establishments of the metropolis, one of the best supported is the Royal Institution in Albemarle Street. The building, the front of which is in good taste, with fourteen Corinthian columns, comprises a good library and reading room, a theatre for lectures, capable of accommodating 900 persons, and a chemical laboratory, supposed to be one of the largest and best supplied with apparatus in Europe. Lectures on various subjects are delivered by the professors and other gentlemen temporarily engaged; and the important investigations made here by the late Sir Humphry Davy, Mr. Faraday, and others, have conferred on the institution a well-merited celebrity. Next in importance to that just mentioned is the London Institution, in Finsbury Circus, Moorfields, the objects of which are very similar, though not so fully and scientifically carried out. Lectures are given on literature, the fine arts, &c., once or twice a week from November to May : the library is both large and well-selected, and the reading rooms are supplied with the greater number of English and foreign literary journals. The Russell Institution, in Great Coram Street, is similar in most respects to those just described; but, owing to a falling off in its funds, its usefulness is at present very much circumscribed.

Efforts have, also, been made to promote the welfare and improvement of the working classes, and of young men generally, by the establishment of mechanics' institutes in different parts of London. But, whatever may be the cause, these, of late years, have generally been declining. The earliest, called, *par excellence*, "The Mechanics' Institute," in Southampton Buildings, Holborn (opened in 1824), which formerly had about 1200 members, has, at present (1850), about 600. The subscription is 24*s.* a year, and 2*s.* 6*d.* at entrance. Classes are established for languages, arithmetic, geometry, &c.; and

the library, which comprises 6,500 vols., is said to be well selected. The Western Literary Institution, the City Institution, in Aldersgate Street, and other establishments of the same kind in various districts, have since been founded.

Among the many endowed schools in the metropolis, the most celebrated are: 1. Westminster School, founded by Queen Elizabeth in 1560, for the free instruction, clothing, board, and lodgment of forty boys, called king's scholars. But, in point of fact, their education is not free, but, at present (1850), costs, with board and lodging, about 45*l.* a year. The school is attended by other boys, partly boarders and partly day-boarders, the number of whom varies according to circumstances. The king's scholars are selected for merit from the whole school. At the end of the fourth year, eight or ten of the senior boys are elected off, according to the vacancies occurring, as students to Christchurch, Oxford, or as scholars to Trinity College, Cambridge. The school forms part of the collegiate establishment of the abbey. Dryden and Locke were educated in it; and William Murray, the famous Earl Mansfield, was a king's scholar, and dux in 1723. 2. The Charterhouse (corrupted from *Chartreux*), founded in 1611, and endowed with property, the gross rental of which, in 1815, was 22,000*l.* a year. There are on the foundation, boys of two classes, pensioners and scholars, both nominated by the governors, among whom are usually some of the most distinguished personages in the country. The number of pensioners is limited to eighty, and that of scholars to forty-four. The former are boarded and lodged at the expense of the hospital, and have, in addition, a pension of 25*l.* a year (whence their name) and a gown: the scholars are educated wholly at the expense of the hospital, but have no pension. The exhibitions to the universities belonging to this school do not appear to be limited in point of number. Boys elected to them have their option both as to college and university; and are allowed 80*l.* a year for the first three years, and



100*l.* for proceeding to the degree of B.A. Gratuities of 100*l.* are given to those scholars who do not proceed to either university. Besides the foundation-boys, the school is attended by others, whose number fluctuates according to the reputation of the masters, &c. 3. Merchant-Tailors' School, founded in 1561, in Suffolk Lane, Thames Street. The statutes provide that a classical education be furnished gratis for 100 boys, and for 150 others at rates varying from 5*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* a quarter. The scholars are examined once a year, and the most advanced are sent to Oxford, where the school has forty-three fellowships, of which thirty-seven were founded in St. John's by Sir Thomas White: it has, also, seven fellowships at Cambridge. This school is in a very efficient state. 4. St. Paul's School, established in 1509 by Dean Colet, and placed by him under the direction of the Mercers' Company, provides a free education for 153 boys, the most advanced of whom are sent to Oxford and Cambridge, with exhibitions varying from 50*l.*, or less, to 120*l.* in value. The present building was erected in 1824; the gross income of the school is upwards of 6,000*l.*, and it enjoys a high character. It has to boast of having had Milton for a pupil. 5. Christ's Hospital, more commonly known as the Blue-coat School, was incorporated by Edward VI. in 1553, and owes its origin to the active benevolence of some distinguished citizens. It was, whatever may be the case at present, originally intended to maintain, clothe, and educate the young and helpless; and 340 boys and girls were admitted soon after its foundation. A second charter from Charles II., in 1673, provided for the education of forty boys in mathematics and other learning calculated to qualify them for the sea-service. The management of the institution is vested in a body of governors (nearly 500 in 1850), who have each contributed, at least, 400*l.* to the funds of the institution; but recently the qualification for a governor has been raised to 500*l.* An individual, on becoming a governor, *is entitled to present* one boy; and he has usually a presenta-

tion once every succeeding three years. The present (1850) revenue of the hospital, arising from rents, and all other sources, amounts to above 60,000*l.* a year, and its expenditure to nearly as much. Its establishment in London, on the site of the Old Grey Friars' monastery, accommodates at present, 920 boys; and it has attached to it a subsidiary establishment at Hertford, for the younger children, where there are usually about 450 boys and 80 girls; making in all about 1450 children, maintained, clothed, and educated by the establishment. There are schools for grammar, mathematics, writing, and drawing. The *Grecians*, or those most advanced in the grammar school, are sent with valuable exhibitions to Oxford and Cambridge, and those in the mathematical school are placed with commanders of ships, and equipped with clothing and nautical instruments, at the hospital's expense. Others are apprenticed to different trades. A magnificent building, called the Great Hall, erected by public subscription, and finished in 1829, opens towards Newgate Street, and is one of the finest ornaments of the city. The hall, in which the children breakfast, dine, and sup, is 187 feet in length, 51 in width, and 46½ feet high. Occasionally they sup, though with questionable propriety, in public, and on these occasions there is a great concourse of strangers to witness the spectacle. The interior arrangements deserve high praise; and every attention is paid to the health and comfort of the children. The well-known dress of the boys, which has not been changed since the formation of the institution, is, however, not merely antiquated, but inconvenient and uncomfortable; and it is certainly high time that it were modified. Presentations can only be obtained from the governors. 6. The City of London School, established in 1835, may be said to have resulted from the inquiries of the Charity Commissioners. A Mr. Carpenter had left an estate for a school, and the value of the property had greatly increased without any proper application of the funds. Repeated inquiries and remonstrances at length induced the

corporation to establish a school on the site of Honey-lane Market, Cheapside. The system of instruction is good, and the school is attended by upwards of 500 boys. The buildings, occupying a space 180 feet long, and 80 feet broad, are commodiously contrived, and have externally some pretensions to architectural elegance. Independently of these and other endowed schools, almost every parish supports a free school by voluntary contributions, and thus about 14,000 children of both sexes are clothed and educated. The number of private and Sunday schools is extremely great, but cannot be accurately estimated. The National Society, in connection with the Church of England, has done much to diffuse education. In Middlesex only it supplies instruction in week-day and Sunday schools to no fewer than 80,000 children; of whom about 22,000 attend week-day schools only, and 19,000 Sunday schools only. The model school of this society is in the Sanctuary, Westminster. Great numbers of children are also taught in the Lancasterian method by the British and Foreign School Society. The model boys' school belonging to this society in the Borough Road has about 700 boys, and the model girls' school, about 300 girls, in constant attendance. Both this and the National Society have normal schools for the instruction of school-masters and school-mistresses. Much, however, still remains to be done towards giving a sound elementary education to the children of the industrious classes; though it must, at the same time, be admitted that the benefits of which it is expected to be productive have been ridiculously exaggerated.

The charges on account of education at most of the superior schools in London, except to boys on the foundation, are oppressively high, the most reasonable being three times as expensive as the High School of Edinburgh, which is quite equal to the best of them. This circumstance, combined with the want of schools in many districts, and the wish to improve their health, has led to the practice, so general in London, of sending children to the

outskirts of the town to be boarded and educated. But the education in very many of these boarding establishments is of a very worthless description ; and it is surprising that no effort should have been made by subjecting the masters to examination, establishing proprietary boarding-schools, or otherwise, to improve the quality of these suburban seminaries.

*British Museum.*—This national institution, established in 1753, is an immense repository of books, MSS., statues, coins, and other antiquities, specimens of animals and minerals, etc., and is, in most respects, one of the richest in Europe. It is principally deposited in buildings raised on the site of Montague House, formerly the residence of the Duke of Montague, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury. The nucleus of the collection was purchased by government of Sir Hans Sloane's executors, for 20,000*l.*, and the museum was first opened to the public in January, 1759. But Montague House, though spacious as a private residence, having been found inadequate to the proper accommodation of the vast and continually increasing collections that belong to the museum, a new quadrangular building, on a very extensive plan, was designed by Sir R. Smirke, and is now open to the public. In 1755 the Harleian MSS. were purchased, and the Cottonian library was removed from Dean's Yard, Westminster : in 1757 the royal library, founded by Henry VIII. out of the libraries of the suppressed monasteries, and enlarged by his different successors, was presented by George II. George III., in 1763, gave a valuable collection of pamphlets on the civil wars ; and between 1806 and 1818 the Lansdowne, Hargrave, and Burney MSS. were purchased at an expense of 26,400*l.* Various presents have been made from time to time ; the most valuable additions of late years having been the library of George III., collected at an expense of 200,000*l.*, and presented to the museum by his successor\*, and the sumptuous collec-

\* It is much to be regretted that this library was not placed in an accessible situation in the west end of the town.

tion of Mr. George Grenville, valued at 60,000*l.*, and bequeathed by him to the nation. Modern English publications are added, free of expense, in consequence of a privilege which this establishment enjoys in common with the two universities, and some other bodies, of receiving *gratis* a copy of every book entered at Stationers' Hall. A considerable sum (it amounted, in 1848, to about 21,400*l.*) is expended in the purchase of old and foreign books, to which departments very extensive and valuable additions have been made of late years. The collection comprises in all about 460,000 printed books, and 31,000 MSS., exclusive of charters. The want of a catalogue *raisonné*, or rather, perhaps, of a series of such catalogues, is much complained of by the great majority of persons who resort to the library for study or research. The reading-rooms are open from 9 till 4 in winter, and till 7 in the evening during four summer months. Admission is procured by a recommendatory letter either to one of the trustees, or to the chief librarian; and every facility is given by the numerous attendants for the most extensive research. No books are allowed to be taken out, it being supposed that such permission would lead to frequent and heavy losses; but, provided the value of the books were previously deposited, we incline to think that certain descriptions of works might be lent out with advantage. In the department of antiquities may be mentioned the collection of Egyptian monuments, including the famous Rosetta stone, acquired at the capitulation of Alexandria, in 1801; the Townley marbles, purchased for 28,000*l.*; the Phigalian and the Elgin marbles, the cost of which was 35,000*l.*; the latter include the statues of Theseus and Ilissus, and the sculptures in *alto-rilievo*, from the friezes of the Parthenon. Very recently the stock of antiquities has been much increased by the winged bulls and other interesting remains dug up from the ruins of Nineveh, and sent home by Mr. Layard. The collection of minerals was, for many years, *deficient in various important particulars*; but the additions pur-

chased from Messrs. Hawkins and Mantell are extremely valuable ; and now, both for size and classification, this department will bear to be compared with any mineralogical collection in Europe. The department of zoology is said to be rich ; but we confess we do not see the advantage of filling the museum with stuffed representations of animals that may be seen alive in the zoological gardens and in every menagerie. The collection of medals, which has been accumulating since the foundation of the museum, consists of about 20,000 coins, above 6,000 being purchased with the Hamilton collection of Herculean antiquities, in 1772. The coins can only be seen by an order from a trustee, or a private introduction to the officer to whose charge they are entrusted. The public days at the museum are Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, when all persons have free admission from 10 to 4, and in the summer months from 10 to 7. The building is closed during the first weeks of January, May, and September. The establishment is governed by 48 trustees, 23 of whom are official ; and to these the officers are responsible. The chief acting trustees, with whom the appointment of the officers has hitherto rested, are the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Speaker of the House of Commons. But it is probable that in consequence of the late Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the affairs of the museum, its governing body will be changed, and rendered more efficient.

The Royal College of Surgeons, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, has a fine portico. Its museum contains the anatomical collections of the celebrated John Hunter, bought by government and deposited in it.

The *Museum of Practical Geology*, in Piccadilly and Jermyn Street, promises to be of much utility, not merely to scientific men, but to those practically engaged in the business of mining. The building was erected at the expense of government.

*Literary and Scientific Societies.* — Before the present century, the learned societies of London were few in number, and

very comprehensive in their objects. The great advancement of the physical sciences in recent times, and the increased ardour with which every branch of knowledge has been cultivated, have produced a corresponding increase in the number of learned associations, and in all recent instances each body has confined its operations within a limited sphere. The following list comprises some of the principal societies, with the dates of their formation, the objects contemplated by them, when not sufficiently indicated by their names, and the publications made at their expense :—

**The Royal Society ; physical and mathematical sciences.** Instituted early in the seventeenth century ; incorporated 1663. “*Philosophical Transactions*,” from the year 1665.

**The Society of Antiquaries.** Instituted 1717 ; incorporated 1751 ; but now split into two societies,—the *Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, and the *British Archæological Association*. “*Archæologia*,” from the year 1770.

**Medical Society.** Established 1773. “*Vetusta Monumenta*,” from 1747.

**Society of Arts.** Established 1754, for the encouragement of the arts, commerce, and manufactures of Great Britain, by granting rewards. “*Transactions*,” from the year 1783.

**Linnæan Society ; natural history.** Established 1788 ; incorporated 1802. “*Transactions*,” from the year 1791.

**Royal Institution.** Established 1799, for the application of science to the ordinary purposes of life. “*Journal*,” from 1810.

**Horticultural Society.** Established 1804 ; incorporated 1809. “*Transactions*,” from 1812.

**Royal Medico-Chirurgical Society.** Established 1805. Chartered 1831. “*Transactions*,” from the year 1806.

**Geological Society.** Established 1807 ; incorporated 1826. “*Transactions*,” from 1811.

**Society of Civil Engineers.** Established 1817 ; incorporated 1828. “*Transactions*” from 1834.

Royal Astronomical Society. Established 1820; incorporated 1831. "Memoirs," from 1822.

Medico-Botanical Society. Established 1821. "Transactions," from 1834.

Royal Asiatic Society. Established 1823; incorporated 1824. "Transactions," from 1827 to 1835; "Journal," from 1834.

Royal Society of Literature. Founded 1821; incorporated 1826. "Transactions," from 1827.

Zoological Society. Instituted 1825; incorporated 1829. "Transactions," from 1833.

Royal Geographical Society. Chartered 1830. "Journal," from 1831.

Entomological Society. Established 1833 or 1834.

Statistical Society. Established 1834. "Journal," from 1837.

Architectural Society. Established 1831.

Royal Institute of British Architects. Established 1835; incorporated 1838. "Transactions," from 1836.

Royal Botanic Society. Chartered 1839.

Nearly all these societies hold meetings twice a month, from November to June inclusive; at which papers are read illustrative of matters connected with the objects of each association.

*Picture Galleries.*—The present national collection of pictures is of recent foundation, and, though valuable, can only be looked upon as the nucleus of one that may hereafter be worthy of the country. It occupies the west wing of the National Gallery, erected 1834-37, at the public expense, on the north-west side of Trafalgar Square, facing Whitehall and Parliament Street, unquestionably the finest situation in the metropolis. The building has a front of 460 feet, with a portico and dome in its centre, supported by Corinthian columns. But whether it were owing to the limited means at the disposal of the archi-



tect, or to some incapacity on his part, the fabric is neither worthy of its site, its object, nor of the country. Unfortunately, too, the defects of its exterior are not counterbalanced by any superiority of internal economy, the apartments for the exhibition of the pictures being miserably deficient in point of size, and ill-arranged. The pictures, which consist of the Angerstein collection, purchased in 1824, of Sir G. Beaumont's collection, given by him in 1826, and of others, partly presented and partly purchased, are arranged in five rooms, of such diminutive size, that they will contain only a few more pictures, and none of large size. About half the pictures belong to the Italian school; and of these the *Ecce Homo*, and the Mercury, Venus, and Cupid, of Correggio; the Raising of Lazarus, by Sebastian del Piombo; the Bacchus and Ariadne, of Titian; and the Holy Family, by Murillo, are reckoned the most valuable. The works of the two Caracci, N. and G. Poussin, and Claude, may be here seen in their highest perfection; and there are some fine specimens of the English school, by Reynolds, Hogarth, Gainsborough, Wilson, Wilkie, and Lawrence. The gallery is open to the public on the first four days of the week; on Friday and Saturday, students are permitted to copy the pictures. The pictures, mostly by native artists, bequeathed to the public by the late Robert Vernon, Esq., have been deposited in the meantime in Marlborough House. The Royal Academy, which at present (by permission of government) occupies the remainder of the National Gallery, was established in 1768, for the instruction of young artists: lectures are delivered in anatomy, painting, sculpture, and architecture, and daily instructions are given to the students by the keeper, and other academicians. The annual exhibition of this corporate society usually comprises about 1,200 specimens of art, and is one of the favourite lounges during the summer months. The profits of the exhibition, besides paying the expenses of the schools, contribute to *form incomes* for the most deserving artists, while studying at

Rome. (See *Comm. Report on the Arts, &c. of 1838.*) The Society of British Artists exhibits annually a good collection of pictures; but, as a whole, they are very inferior to those exhibited by the Academy. The British Institution, and Society of Painters in Water Colours, have also exhibitions, and their rooms are crowded during the fashionable season. Many private individuals have splendid galleries, among which may be specified those of the Earl of Ellesmere, the Marquis of Westminster, the Duke of Sutherland, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Hope, &c.

*Theatres and Music.*—The great theatres of modern London present a curious contrast to the rude and confined buildings, called the Globe, Blackfriars, and Old Drury, in the time of Shakspeare, in which neither scenery nor the comfort of the audience was at all considered. The two patent theatres, Drury Lane and Covent Garden, contiguous to each other, have handsome exteriors, and very extensive and highly decorated interiors. They enjoy, or rather are supposed to enjoy, the exclusive privilege of representing tragedy and comedy, or the legitimate drama. But this monopoly is no longer of much, or, perhaps, of any value. Late dinner hours, the changes or caprices of fashion, the inferiority of the actors, and other causes, have contributed to weaken the taste for the regular drama. Concerts, operas, masked balls, and so forth, at present enjoy the largest share of public favour. But it is not, speaking generally, enough to make them profitable; and with few exceptions all varieties of theatres have, for a considerable time past, been unprofitable concerns. Tragedy and comedy have long ceased to be the staples of Covent Garden. For a while it was leased by the Anti-corn-law agitators; and more recently it has been converted into an Italian opera-house in opposition to Her Majesty's theatre. But, owing to the immense expense attending it, this has not been a very successful speculation. The Haymarket theatre, which has recently enjoyed more than ordinary proa-

perity, is of smaller size, and therefore better adapted for hearing, than the immense houses above mentioned ; it is open for about eight months of the year, including the recesses of the two patent theatres. Besides these, there are several minor theatres, the names, localities, and objects of the principal of which are given in the following table :—

Names.	Localities.	Objects.
St. James's	King St., St. James's	Operas and farces.
Marylebone	Church Street	Drama and Eng. Opera.
Lyceum	Strand	Operas and farces.
Princess's	Oxford Street	Operas, &c.
Adelphi	Strand	Spectacles and burlettas
Strand	Ditto	Burlettas.
Olympic	Wych Street	Ditto.
Queen's	Tottenham Court Rd.	Ditto.
City of London	Norton Folgate	Melodrama.
Garrick	Goodman's Fields	Ditto.
Sadler's Wells	Clerkenwell	Legitimate Drama.
Astley's	Lambeth	Melodr. & horsemana.
Sursey	Blackfriars' Road	Melodrama.
Victoria	Waterloo Road	Ditto.

Among these, Astley's, or Batty's, deserves notice, for the excellent horsemanship displayed by the *corps dramatique* ; it is equal, perhaps superior, to that exhibited in the Franconi theatre at Paris.

The Italian Opera House, in the Haymarket, is the largest theatre in London. It scarcely, however, deserves the name of a national theatre, inasmuch as the singers, dancers, and musicians are chiefly foreigners, and as it depends for its support chiefly on the patronage of the court, nobility, and higher classes, many of whom hold private boxes, at rents varying from 120*l.* to 500*l.* a year. All the patronage of rank and wealth, however, cannot, owing to the enormous cost of the performances, make it a good speculation for the manager.

The established London concerts consist of the Ancient, Philharmonic, and Sacred Harmonic concerts, all of which are well

and fashionably attended ; many others are given by professional persons, for their own benefit, in the different public rooms in the West End. Promenade concerts are also given in imitation of those of Paris.

*Benevolent Institutions.* — There are a vast many establishments in London for the cure of disease ; consisting partly of hospitals properly so called ; partly dispensaries, where medicine and advice are gratuitously administered ; and partly of infirmaries for special diseases ; with lying-in charities. Asylums for orphans and otherwise destitute persons, and other benevolent establishments, are, also, very numerous ; and some of them are well endowed and liberally supported. The principal are the following : —

1. St. Bartholomew's Hospital, in West Smithfield, was first founded in the twelfth century, and refounded by Henry VIII. in 1546. The building, a spacious quadrangular structure, is principally modern, having been finished in 1770. It makes up 580 beds. In 1848, 71,573 were relieved by this hospital, viz. 5,826 in-patients, 19,149 out-patients, and 46,598 casual ditto. Necessity is the only recommendation to this institution ; and patients are received without limitation. The medical staff is equal to any in the metropolis. The staircase was gratuitously painted by Hogarth. 2. Guy's Hospital, St. Thomas's Street, Southwark, founded in 1721, contains accommodation for 580 in-patients, and has an excellent museum and theatre of anatomy. This magnificent hospital, which consists of two quadrangles and two wings, was founded and endowed by Thomas Guy, a bookseller, who expended 18,793*l.* upon the building, and left 219,419*l.* for its endowment—the largest sum, perhaps, that has ever been expended by any individual on similar purposes. Recently, however, Guy's Hospital has met with another benefactor, but little inferior, in point of liberality, to its founder ; a citizen, of the name of Thomas Hunt, having bequeathed to it, in 1829, the princely sum of 200,000*l.* ! The

medical school attached to this hospital, while under the superintendence of the late Sir Astley Cooper, was one of the most extensive, and probably, also, the best in the empire. 3. St. Thomas's Hospital, in High Street, Borough, was formed out of two other charities by Edward VI., and rebuilt in 1693. Additions were made in 1732, and a large part was rebuilt in 1836. It contains 18 wards, and 428 beds. It has an income of about 25,000*l.* a year, derived almost wholly from rents of estates in London and the country. 4. St. George's Hospital, near Hyde Park Corner, lately rebuilt, has a fine front, 200 feet in length, facing the Green Park. It accommodates 460 in-patients. 5. The Middlesex Hospital, near Oxford Street founded in 1745, has 285 beds, and relieves numerous out-patients. 6. London Hospital, in Whitechapel, was founded in 1740. Its wards accommodate about 250 patients. 7. Westminster Hospital, rebuilt in 1833, near the Abbey, has 174 beds; but three wards, containing space for fifty additional beds, are unfurnished, notwithstanding there is a great demand for hospital accommodation (*Low*, p. 8.). 8. The Marylebone and Paddington Hospital, opened in 1850, has 150 beds, which it is proposed to increase to 376, supposing the necessary funds to be forthcoming. This, and the four last mentioned hospitals, depend wholly, or almost wholly, on voluntary subscriptions, which are said to be very insufficient to meet the demands upon them. The University College and King's College Hospitals, and Charing Cross Hospital, are smaller establishments of the same nature, each accommodating about 120 patients, and there are other establishments of the same sort.

Medical schools are connected with the above hospitals, in which lectures are delivered by the officers, and which are attended, altogether, by about 1,200 students.

Bethlehem Hospital, or Bedlam, is appropriated exclusively to the insane poor; it was founded in 1546, in Moorfields, whence it was removed, in 1815, to St. George's Fields. The

present building received some extensive additions in 1839, and is now 697 feet in length, "and possesses, from its elevation and extent, an appearance approaching to the magnificent." The rooms are large and airy, well warmed and ventilated, and are sufficient for the accommodation of above 400 patients. St. Luke's, Old Street Road, established for a similar purpose in 1751, accommodates 260 persons.

The Foundling Hospital, Brunswick Square, was founded by Captain Coram, in 1739, but the building was not commenced till 1742. It was established for the indiscriminate admission of deserted children ; but the numbers were found to increase so rapidly, that the funds failed, and in 1760 the mode of admission was so much altered, that it is now nominally only a Foundling Hospital. The number of children averages about 500, and they are maintained till the age of twelve, when they are either apprenticed or otherwise provided for. The revenue is about 10,000*l.* per annum ; which will increase according as the leases fall in of the houses built on its estate.

The Magdalen Hospital, Blackfriars Road, was established in 1748, for the reformation of females who have fallen into vicious courses.

The Philanthropic Institution, St. George's Fields, was founded, in 1788, for the reception and reform of young criminals discharged from prison. It provides them with immediate means of subsistence, and instructs them in some trade, so as to prevent the otherwise almost inevitable necessity of their returning to their former habits.

It would far exceed our limits to attempt even to enumerate the names of the various charitable institutions in and about the metropolis. But those who wish for information respecting them will find the principal facts in regard to each institution, accurately and clearly stated in the comprehensive and valuable little work of Mr. Sampson Low on the Charities of London, published in 1850. We borrow from this work a

**Summary, exhibiting the leading Objects of the Charitable Institutions of London, the Number in each Class, the Periods when they were founded, and their Income, distinguishing between the Funds derived from voluntary Contributions, and from other Sources.**

Objects	Founded in present Century.	Founded in 18th Century.	Founded previous to 18th Century.	Total.	Income from voluntary Contributions.	Income derived from funded Property, or otherwise secured.	Total.
General medical hospitals	5	5	2	12	31,265	111,641	142,906
Medical charities for special purposes	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
General dispensaries	26	11	1	38	27,974	68,690	96,664
Improvement of the and public morals	32	12	—	44	11,470	2,954	14,424
Reclaiming the fallen, and staying the progress of crime	11	1	—	12	8,730	2,773	11,503
Relief of general destitution and distress	14	4	—	18	16,269	18,737	35,006
Relief of specified distress	12	2	—	14	20,646	3,234	23,880
Aiding the numerous of the industrious	9	2	1	12	19,473	10,488	29,961
For the blind, deaf, and dumb	13	1	—	14*	4,677	2,669	7,346
Colleges, hospitals, and other asylums for the aged	8	3	—	11	11,565	22,797	34,362
Beneficial pension societies	10	24	60	104	6,887	77,190	84,077
Beneficial and provident, chiefly for specified classes	14	1	1	16	15,790	3,189	18,979
Asylums for infants and other necessitous children	26	13	3	42	19,805	83,322	103,127
Charitable foundations	16	15	—	31	55,466	25,549	81,015
Beneficial societies, religious benev.	—	—	10	10	15,000	78,119	93,119
Asylums, societies, religious benev., Church aiding, and relief, &c. &c.	3	1	—	4	4,000	9,200	13,200
Widow and orphanage	36	3	1	40	150,533	158,336**	318,869
Miscellaneous	27	8	—	35	49,434	63,086	112,520
Total	394	109	83	491	922,864	741,869	1,664,733

\* This is exclusive of Bayliss' Banks and Loan Societies.

\*\* The amount of £3,192 of course includes "members' payments."

† exclusive of parochial schools.

‡ This apparently large amount comprehends sale of publications, &c.

† Exclusive of Chelsea and Greenwich Hospitals.

‡ Does not include libraries, modern colleges, or proprietary schools.

§ Irrespective of government grants or establishments.

*Hotels and Taverns.* — There are about thirty great hotels, situated chiefly in the west end of the town, in the neighbourhood of Piccadilly. "In these establishments," says Prince Puckler Muskau, "every thing is infinitely richer and more abundant than on the Continent." The commercial and other inns are scattered over all parts of the metropolis. They are generally respectable establishments, some of them being quite as commodious, if not so elegant, as the fashionable hotels. The establishments of licensed victuallers, meaning thereby all taverns and other places where wine and spirits are sold by retail on the premises, amounted, in 1849, to 4,223. Many, perhaps most part, of these are respectably conducted, though some are of an opposite character. The publicans furnish their guests not only with beer and spirits, but also with dining accommodation, &c. The gin or dram shops have been very much embellished of late years; and many of them are so handsomely, and even splendidly, fitted up, that they have acquired and are entitled to the name of "gin palaces." But notwithstanding the number and magnificence of these establishments, there is no real room or ground for the prevalent opinion as to the increase of intemperance. No doubt it is much too widely diffused; but it nevertheless admits of demonstration, that, as compared with the population, the consumption of spirits in the metropolis is now much less than in the reign of George II., and the greater part of that of George III.; and that there has been a corresponding improvement in the habits of the lower classes.

In 1849, 2,054 houses were licensed for the retail sale of beer only. The eating-houses and coffee-rooms, where spirits are not sold, are more numerous in the city than in Westminster. Many tradesmen let portions of their houses in lodgings, and thus, in fact, frequently defray either the whole or a considerable portion of the rent of their shops; and many families receive boarders. The expense of living in these establishments



varies, of course, with the quality of the house and the means of the guest. A lodger at an inn can hardly be accommodated, on a moderate scale, below 10*s.* a day, including all expenses of board, food, and servants; the maximum of the scale will, of course, depend on the habits or caprice of the guest. Board and lodging in private houses may be obtained at a somewhat lower rate than at hotels; but single men in lodgings usually dine at an eating-house, and families generally prefer boarding at their own cost. A dinner (without wine) at an ordinary eating-house costs from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 2*s.*; and seldom exceeds 5*s.* at the more elegant establishments. In most cases the guest may depend on every attention; and at the superior houses he will find all the luxuries of the season.

*Clubs.*— There are about thirty-five clubs in the metropolis. A few of these establishments, such as White's, Brookes's, Boodle's, and Arthur's, are of ancient date; but their present arrangements and constitution are of recent introduction. The accommodation they afford to gentlemen only occasionally visiting town, and to others desirous of enjoying the luxuries of a splendid establishment, at a moderate expense, and of meeting with a great variety of society, has made them popular among the upper classes. The club-houses are mostly edifices of a very superior character; and add much to the magnificence of the squares and streets in which they are situated. Each club consists of a limited number of members, varying from 700 to 1,500; they are admitted by ballot, pay a certain sum at entrance, from ten to twenty-five guineas, and an annual subscription, varying from five to ten guineas. The club-houses are fitted up with every luxury of a fashionable hotel, have excellent libraries, take in the best periodical publications, and provide dinners, coffee, wines, &c., at reasonable prices. Some of the clubs are avowedly of a political character, and others are devoted exclusively to certain classes. Among these may be specified the Carlton, Reform, City, Conservative, United Ser-

vice, Oxford and Cambridge, Travellers', Oriental, West Indian, Army and Navy, &c. ; but most clubs are open, on election, to all gentlemen without reference to party or profession. Most part of the club-houses are at the west end of the town, particularly in Pall Mall and St. James's Street. The building erected for the Reform Club, by Mr. Barry, is one of the finest structures belonging to this class of edifices ; and is fitted up with equal taste and magnificence. The city of London has two club-houses, which, in point of elegance and luxury, may vie with those of the west end. The number of members in the different clubs may be about 28,000.

*Courts of Law.*—The Courts of Chancery, Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, occupy apartments on the west side of Westminster Hall. This hall, built by William Rufus, was long supposed to be the largest in Europe unsupported by pillars. It measures 239 feet in length by 68 in breadth, and is 110 feet high ; but these dimensions have been much surpassed by the great plate-glass hall of Ravenhead, which is 339 feet long, and 155 feet wide, with a proportional height. Westminster Hall has been used for coronation banquets, the last of which was given when George IV. was crowned. Parliaments have often met in it, and it is occasionally appropriated to important trials ; among which may be specified that of Charles I., and more recently those of Warren Hastings and Lord Melville. Ordinarily, however, it is a mere promenade for lawyers during the sitting of the courts. The Lord Chancellor sits out of term-time in the hall of Lincoln's Inn. The Master of the Rolls sits in the Rolls Court, Westminster, and in the Rolls Court in the Rolls House, Chancery Lane. The Vice-Chancellors sit in Westminster Hall, and in Lincoln's Inn.

The Central Criminal Court, the jurisdiction of which extends to all places within ten miles of St. Paul's, was established

in 1884. Its sittings are held at the Old Bailey, a stone building close to Newgate, once a month, and generally last five or six days at a time. There are two halls, of confined dimensions, in both of which the judges are engaged in trying prisoners during the sessions. The Lord Mayor's Court, of which the Recorder of London is judge, will be noticed subsequently. The Court of Bankruptcy is in Basinghall Street, within the city of London; the Court for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors, in Portugal Street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields; the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts, in Doctors' Commons, near St. Paul's, &c. The Marshalsea and Palace Courts, and the Courts of Requests, have recently been abolished. The latter have been replaced by the County Courts, instituted to facilitate the recovery of debts under 50*l.*, of which there are ten within the metropolis and its immediate environs.\* No fewer than 86,621 complaints were entered before these courts in 1848. (See *Geog. Dict.*, art. ENGLAND AND WALES, vol. i. p. 783.)

*Inns of Court.* — The Inns of Court, originally colleges for legal study, are now little more than residences for lawyers, or indeed for any one who chooses to hire chambers in them. They are not incorporated, and cannot, consequently, make bye-laws; but, by prescription, their customs have obtained the force of laws. A law student, before being called to the bar, has now only to be entered as member of one of these inns, and to dine a certain number of times in the common hall, in order to qualify himself for the exercise of his profession. This is termed "eating" his way to the bar.

Among the chief inns are the Inner and Middle Temple, in the liberty or district so called adjoining Temple Bar, and between the Strand, Fleet Street, and the Thames. This district originally belonged to, and took its name from, the Knights

\* At Whitechapel, Shoreditch, Clerkenwell, Bloomsbury, Brompton, Marylebone, Westminster, Southwark, Greenwich, and Lambeth. There are, also, courts at Bow, Brentford, and Wandsworth.

Templars; and having, after their downfall, been held in lease by students of the common law, the property, which had come into the possession of the crown, was conferred by James I. on the two societies, and their successors. The Temple Gardens, which have some fine trees, and are well laid out, are skirted by the Thames. The Middle Temple Hall, 100 feet in length, and the Temple Church, are especially worth notice. The latter consists of a circular and a rectangular portion. The former, which is a perfect circle, of three stories, in the Norman style, was erected in 1185; and the latter, in the Early English style, in 1240. This venerable structure was completely repaired and renovated in 1839-42, the original style of its different parts being carefully preserved, at an expense of about 70,000*l*. It is now, in all respects, one of the most splendid and interesting ecclesiastical edifices in London. Besides various monuments of the age of the crusades, it has some of a more modern date, including one in honour of the learned and excellent John Selden, buried within its walls. Hooker, the "Judicious" author of the Ecclesiastical Polity, was, for six years, one of its preachers. Subordinate to the Temple are Clifford's, Clement's, Lyon's, and New Inns.

Lincoln's Inn is situated between Chancery Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields. The Lord Chancellor holds his sittings during a portion of the year in the old hall; and the Vice-Chancellors sit in adjoining buildings. The society have recently erected, in the gardens, a magnificent hall and library, from the designs of Mr. Hardwick, opened by Her Majesty in person, in 1845. It is in the Tudor style, brick, with stone dressings. The Hall is 120 feet in length, by 45 feet in width, and 62 feet in height: the library, 80 feet in length, 40 feet in width, and 44 feet in height, is furnished with a valuable collection of books.

There are, also, Gray's Inn, on the north side of Holborn having attached to it Staple's Inn, and Barnard's Inn. For-

nival's Inn is subordinate to Lincoln's Inn. Thavie's Inn, and some others, are mere private residences.

**Prisons.** — There are about a dozen criminal prisons, of which three are in the city of London. 1. Newgate, under the control of the corporation, is a building, the architecture of which is singularly appropriate to and characteristic of its destination. It was a prison early in the thirteenth century; but the present edifice was erected in 1779, and again repaired after the riots of 1780. This, which may be called the great metropolitan gaol, may contain proper accommodation for 300 or 400 prisoners; but before the meeting of sessions it has sometimes as many as 1,000 or more crowded within its walls waiting for trial; and it then, no doubt, deserves some portion, at least, of the reproaches which have been made against it. In front of this prison all the criminals of London and Middlesex, capitally convicted, suffer the last penalty of the law. 2. The Bridewell, near Blackfriars Bridge (once a royal palace), is a house of correction for vagrants, pilferers, or disorderly persons, summarily convicted before the Lord Mayor and aldermen. The number confined averages 100. The building is said to be inconvenient for the purposes of penal discipline. "The prisoners dine together in day-rooms without superintendence, and there is little or nothing in the discipline to deter either the old or young offender." (*Inspectors' Report*, 1850.) 3. Giltspur Street compter, opposite St. Sepulchre's church, a plain edifice with a stone front, is used as a place of confinement for all prisoners tried at the Central Criminal Court and the London sessions, and summarily convicted within the jurisdiction of the city magistrates; a house of correction is attached to it. It holds about 250. 4. Clerkenwell prison, belonging to the county of Middlesex, is one of a similar character with the last. It serves, also, as an auxiliary to Newgate, receiving prisoners remanded from the police courts, or committed for trial at the general sessions. 5. Cold-Bath-Fields prison, a very extensive brick

building, near Gray's Inn Lane, is a house of correction for Middlesex; and contains felons, misdemeanants, rogues and vagabonds. It is an insulated brick building, containing spacious courts and airing grounds. The classification is good, and the silent system is followed, connected with hard labour. A large tread-mill employs 320 prisoners at a time. This prison accommodates upwards of 1,200. 6. The Westminster house of correction, in Tothill-Fields, for criminals from all parts of Middlesex, begun in 1831 and finished in 1834, is surrounded by a lofty wall, with a complete roadway outside: it is built on the Panopticon principle, and has a courtyard in the centre 250 feet in diameter, with prisons round it for 600 persons; but the average number confined is 350. The arrangement of the building is said to be excellent; and the window of the governor's house commands a complete view of all the day-rooms and yards, and of the two tread-wheels. Instruction is given to juvenile offenders. The silent system is adopted, and a good classification maintained. 7. The Penitentiary, at Millbank, Westminster, built on the Panopticon principle, has no peculiar connexion with the metropolis, but is intended for the confinement and reformation of criminals whose sentence of transportation or death has not been executed, or has been commuted. It contains accommodation for 1,120 prisoners; the number of inmates averaging about 600. The building is insulated, and is surrounded by a wall enclosing eighteen acres of ground. 8. The Pentonville prison, Pentonville, is appropriated to the confinement of male prisoners under sentence of transportation. 9. The Surrey county gaol is in Horsemonger Lane, Newington Causeway. It contains about 250 prisoners, and there is little classification. The top of the building is used as a place of execution. 10. The Borough compter, in Mill Street, is a house of correction for female prisoners, and is said to be well managed; average number of inmates about 40. 11. The Brixton house of correction is exclusively confined to prisoners

sentenced to hard labour at the assizes and sessions, or by magistrates, under summary convictions. Hard labour and the silent system are rigorously enforced. A new prison is now being built at Holloway to accommodate 400 prisoners on, what is said to be, an improved plan. It is intended to receive convicted prisoners only.

The principal prisons for debtors are, 1. The Queen's Bench, in the Borough, chiefly used for debtors on process from the Court of Queen's Bench, but also for persons committed for libels, contempts, &c. It is a spacious, healthy prison, containing 207 rooms, in which 500 persons have occasionally been confined at once. The 5 & 6 Vict. c. 22. abolished the former practice of granting day rules, and of permitting prisoners to reside within the rules, which comprised a space of nearly one square mile. 2. White Cross Street prison, in the street of that name, in the city, is inconveniently built and badly managed. Its confined extent, when compared with the average number of the inmates, and the disorder prevalent in every part of it, are not a little discreditable to the corporation of London. The prisons for debtors have been comparatively deserted since the changes introduced within these few years into the law respecting imprisonment for debt. Formerly they were often very much crowded, and parties used to be confined in them for long periods of years.

A great deal has been effected, of late years, in regard to the improvement of prisons and of prison accommodation; but we doubt much whether the grand object of a prison has not been very frequently lost sight of in these and other reforms. A prison ought to be made a terror to, and not an asylum for, evil-doers; it should be a place of punishment as well as of safe custody; and if the inmates in prisons be lodged better and fed better than the generality of the poorer classes, they are perverted from their principal object, and become incentives to, *instead* of checks upon, crime. The efforts made to instruct

and improve the grown-up occupants of gaols, of which we have heard so much, have, in truth, had little other effect than to turn them out more accomplished and dexterous villains than when they entered them.

*Crimes.*—The crimes committed in London are both grave and numerous; but the degree of demoralisation, as compared with the population, is not greater than in other places offering the same facility for successful depredation, and having an equal amount of poverty. The Report of the Constabulary Commission gives the following statement of depredators known to the metropolitan police in 1838:—

Burglars and housebreakers	-	-	-	-	217
Highway-robbers	-	-	-	-	38
Pick-pockets and common thieves	-	-	-	-	4,430
Coiners and utterers of base coin	-	-	-	-	345
Forgers	-	-	-	-	3
Swindlers, &c.	-	-	-	-	320
Horse and dog stealers	-	-	-	-	152
Begging-letter impostors	-	-	-	-	136
Disorderlies, habitual	-	-	-	-	2,786
Vagrants	-	-	-	-	2,295
Street prostitutes	-	-	-	-	6,371

The annual average of convictions during several late years within the metropolis and its environs exceeds 4,500, more than half of which are for slight crimes, demanding six or three months' imprisonment. Capital offences, except murder, are now generally punished by transportation for life to Norfolk Island. The executions in London have latterly not exceeded two or three a year. The serious crimes of the metropolis are, perhaps, on the decrease; and the frequent notification of them at present is more owing to the vigilance of the police, who detect and prosecute offenders, than to any actual increase of crime.

*Police.*—Till 1820, the police of London had the reputation of being the most defective establishment of the kind in Europe.



A great reformation, however, has been effected within the last few years, and the metropolis is now, perhaps, superior in this respect to any other city in Europe. There are thirteen police offices, two of which are in the city, and one in Southwark. These are —

The Guildhall, in the City.

The Mansion House, in the City.

Bow Street, near Covent Garden.

Clerkenwell, Bagnigge Wells Road.

Hammersmith and Wandsworth, in Wandsworth.

Greenwich and Woolwich.

Vincent Square, Westminster.

High Street, Marylebone.

Great Marlborough Street, Oxford Street.

Worship Street, Finsbury Square.

Kennington Lane.

Union Office, Southwark.

Thames Police, Wapping.

The first two of these offices are regulated by the city authorities; the rest are under the control of the Secretary of State. Magistrates sit every day at each office, to hear and determine cases of misdemeanour and breach of the peace, as well as to examine and commit for trial all persons accused of felonies, to administer oaths, swear in constables, and perform other magisterial functions. A number of officers is appropriated to each establishment, and a river police is attached to the Thames office.

The chief instrument of preserving the peace of the metropolis is the metropolitan police, established by Sir R. Peel in 1829. This body is dispersed over the whole of London, excepting the city, which is protected by a distinct body, of similar character, but less effective and not so well disciplined. The city police is under the control of the corporation: the other force is governed by two commissioners, who communicate directly with the Secretary of State for the Home Depart-

ment. The whole body is distributed into eighteen divisions, each being under a superintendent, and having each a conveniently situated station-house. The force consists at present (1850) of 18 superintendents, 123 inspectors, 584 serjeants, and 4,805 constables. The sphere of their duties reaches beyond the metropolis; and comprises, with the exception of the city of London, the whole country within fifteen miles of Charing Cross. The expense is defrayed by an assessment limited to eight pence in the pound on the parish rates, the deficiency being made up by the treasury. The city, as before said, is not under the charge of the metropolitan police, but is protected by a body of men organised on the plan, and in imitation of the arrangements of that body, but placed under the city authorities. The city police, consisting, in 1850, of 565 officers and men, is divided into six companies, to each of which belong inspectors, serjeants, and constables, and the whole is immediately under the control of a superintendent. All the constables, both of the city and metropolitan police, wear a blue uniform, with the number of each man, and a letter designating the division to which he belongs, on the collar of his coat. They are constantly on duty, day and night; but the force is increased at night.

RETURN of the Number of Persons taken into Custody by the Metropolitan Police Force, and the Results, in each Year from 1844 to 1848 inclusive.

Year.	Taken into Custody.	Discharged by the Magistrates.	Summarily Convicted, or held to Bail.	Committed for Trial.	Convicted and Sentenced.	Acquitted.	Bills not found, or not prosecuted.
1844	62,522	31,347	26,871	4,304	3,126	812	366
1845	59,123	30,317	23,890	4,916	3,548	987	381
1846	62,834	31,389	26,333	5,112	3,828	878	406
1847	62,181	31,572	24,689	5,990	4,551	917	452
1848	64,480	31,683	27,274	5,523	4,364	905	254
Total	311,140	156,308	129,057	25,775	19,417	4,499	1,859

RETURN of the Number of Persons taken into Custody by the City Police, and the Results, in each Year from 1844 to 1848 inclusive.

Results.	Number of Persons taken into Custody.				
	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.
Discharged by magistrates -	2,080	2,098	2,349	2,177	1,831
Summarily convicted or held to bail -	1,954	2,205	2,318	2,622	3,504
Tried and convicted -	294	354	327	509	396
Tried and acquitted -	42	78	55	58	61
Bill not found, or discharged by proclamation -	5	5	8	18	15
Drunken persons, discharged when sober -	3,206	3,349	3,266	2,963	2,810
Charges not entertained -	4,337	4,114	4,253	3,807	3,865
<i>Vagrants:—</i>					
Discharged at stations -	-	67	50	64	89
Discharged by magistrates -	87	116	75	70	248
Committed to prison -	104	222	171	165	494
Sent to unions, &c. -	52	32	9	23	106
	12,161	12,640	12,874	12,476	13,419
In addition to the above offenders, the number of destitute persons was -	1,669	1,332	764	835	1,269

*Pauperism and Mendicity.*—London, with all its wealth and its many societies for the relief of distress, contains much misery and indigence, of which a large proportion is attributable more to demoralisation than mere misfortune. Since the Poor Law Amendment Act, most of the metropolitan parishes have placed themselves under its regulations, only eleven parishes still adhering to the old system of maintaining their poor. The money raised by rates, and expended for the relief of the poor, in the metropolis in 1846-47, including Chelsea, Greenwich, Lewisham, &c., amounted to 634,369*l.*, assessed upon property valued at 8,820,518*l.* a year. The mendicants, a class almost wholly separate from the paupers, pursue their *vocation* almost as regularly and with as much success as

tradesmen. The Mendicity Society have laboured usefully in exposing the impositions of mendicants; but neither their agents nor the police have been able wholly to suppress them. "Of the London beggars, nine out of ten are gross impostors and convicted vagrants; and of these the very worst are the blind and cripples. The records of the above Society afford surprising proofs of the profligacy of the regular street-beggars, and the inveteracy of their idle and dishonest habits. The metropolitan police, in 1837, apprehended 4,800 mendicants." (*Metr. Police Off. Rep.* 1838.) The really indigent are relieved by an institution, entitled the Refuge for the Destitute, which provides a meal and a bed for those who give satisfactory proof of requiring such assistance. The private lodgings of mendicants are crowded, unwholesome, and literally sinks of iniquity.

*Water.*—The supply of London with water was anciently procured from brooks running through the city. The increase of inhabitants made these sources insufficient; while, at the same time, they became less accessible, owing to the encroachment of buildings. To remedy this inconvenience, water was brought by leaden pipes in the thirteenth century from Tyburn, then a mere country village, into the city, where it flowed into conduits from which the inhabitants drew it at pleasure. In the beginning of the seventeenth century Sir Hugh Myddleton projected, and, despite the greatest difficulties, carried into effect, in 1613, his plan for bringing the water of two copious springs in Hertfordshire to London, by an aqueduct, called the New River, forty miles in length, including windings. The Thames has long been one of the great sources of supply; and as early as 1581, water-wheels and other hydraulic machinery were established at London Bridge. These wheels, which at one time raised 45,000 hogsheads per day, were wholly removed when the old bridge was pulled down. The greater number, however, of the existing water-companies derive their supply from the Thames, the water being filtered in immense reservoirs.

THE following Statements respecting the Supply and Cost of Water in 1849, are taken from Returns made by the Board of Health to Parliament :—

Names of Companies.	Cost of Works.	Annual Income from Water Rents, &c.	Number of Houses supplied.	Average Number of Gallons per Day.
	£	£		
New River - - - -	1,421,717	136,296	83,206	14,149,315
East London - - - -	745,781	70,585	56,409	8,829,462
Chelsea - - - -	455,712	35,917	20,393	3,940,730
West Middlesex - - - -	648,560	65,415	24,480	3,334,054
Grand Junction - - - -	522,255	43,387	14,854	3,532,013
Lambeth - - - -	307,352	22,446	23,396	3,077,260
Southwark and Vauxhall - - - -	435,247	36,396	34,217	6,013,716
Kent - - - -	202,104	14,442	9,532	1,079,311
Hampstead - - - -	121,231	7,009	4,490	427,468
Total - - - -	£4,859,999	£431,893	270,581	44,383,329

The total supply of water within the year was 16,200,000,000 gallons ; being at the rate of about 164 gallons a day to each house.

In every street in London there are fire-plugs or cocks, at any of which a copious supply of water should be obtained in a few minutes in case of fire ; though it must be admitted that the supply has sometimes, through neglect, been very long delayed, to the great injury of property. Much water is also used in watering the streets and improving the drainage : indeed, scarcely a third part of the supply is used for purposes strictly domestic. Abundant springs of the finest water may be procured in all parts of London, by boring below the clay strata ; but no public measures have yet been taken to ensure a supply from this source, or (excepting the New River) from springs at a distance. It is probable, however, that steps will, at no distant period, be taken to effect this object. •

*Sewers.*—The sewers of London, which began to be constructed so early as 1428, constitute a system of drainage unknown to most modern cities ; and, though out of sight and hardly appreciable except by engineers, they have excited the astonishment of all who have investigated the subject. Their *depth is, in most cases*, sufficient to drain the deepest cellars in

each neighbourhood, and the size of the main branches rivals that of the celebrated Roman Cloacæ. But notwithstanding what has been done, a vast deal still remains to be accomplished before the sewerage can be said to be on a perfectly satisfactory footing. In some low neighbourhoods, such as Wapping, Stepney, Bethnal Green, Bermondsey, Westminster, &c., it is still very imperfect, and wherever this is the case, malignant fevers and other epidemic diseases make fearful ravages among the lower classes. The sewers were formerly under the direction of different boards of commissioners. Inasmuch, however, as these bodies frequently entertained conflicting views, it was resolved, to obtain that unity of view and of action which in such matters is so essential, to consolidate the different metropolitan boards into a single board. But, though the new board comprises some very able men, their proceedings have not hitherto, perhaps, been very satisfactory. A good deal of allowance should, however, be made for the all but insuperable difficulties of the task they have undertaken. Hitherto the river has formed the grand outlet, the *cloaca maxima*, for all the sewers of the city. But the opinion has become very general that the Thames should no longer be employed for such a purpose; and that a vast subterranean canal should be dug on each side the river to receive the drainage of the sewers coming from the interior of the town, and to convey it to some considerable distance from the city, where it may be converted to useful purposes, and hindered from polluting the waters of the river. Whether this grand project will ever be fully carried out, or whether, if carried out, it will have the beneficial effects that have been anticipated, are questions more easily proposed than answered. But whatever may be done with this grand project, it is to be hoped that no further time may be lost in taking measures for the effectual drainage of those parts of the town where sewers are defective, or where they are wanting.

*Paving.*—The streets of London are not only well paved for

carriages, but they have also on both sides, for the accommodation of pedestrians, smooth and usually wide flagged footways, raised some inches above the carriage way. This advantage it enjoys in common with most English towns; but few cities on the Continent are provided with a similar convenience, though Paris has in some measure followed the example, in streets wide enough to admit of it. The paving is under the control of numerous boards, each of which has its particular district. It is conjectured that the amount expended in paving the streets of London exceeds 200,000*l.* per annum. Pavement was first laid down in the metropolis in 1417, in Holborn. In 1615, the plan of having footways of broad stone was begun, but it did not become universal until the middle of last century. For some time past the principal streets have been paved with granite, mostly brought from Aberdeen. Very recently, indeed, some portions of them have been paved with wooden blocks; and how singular soever it may appear, this sort of pavement is found to be quite as durable as granite, while it lessens the wear and tear of carriages, the dust, and noise. Unluckily, however, it becomes so very slippery in wet weather that horses are very apt to stumble upon it; and as no means of obviating this serious defect have been discovered, it has been rather generally given up.

*Lighting.*—The metropolis is excellently lighted with gas, even in its most remote and secluded parts. Without going back to 1416, when lanterns were first hung out before citizens' houses, or even three centuries later, when an act passed to compel housekeepers to light up a lamp for five hours during the dark nights; many may remember the old oil lamps, which were said by a foreigner to "edge the streets with two long lines of brightish little dots indicative of light, but yielding very little."

M. Simond somewhat exaggerated the deficiency; but still *the difference* between the old and present plan of lighting is

immense. Gas was first tried in London in 1807, but with little success, as no means had then been discovered for removing its impurities. Pall Mall had been for some years the only street thus lighted, when, in 1816, a charter was obtained by a gas company, which slowly but certainly extended its operations. The profit of this speculation led to the formation of other companies; but it was not till 1820 that any considerable portion of the metropolis adopted gas. From that period, however, public bodies and private traders began rapidly to introduce it into their establishments, and, parochial boards adopted the luminous gas jets in lieu of the sickly glimmering oil-lanterns. There are now thirteen gas companies, who may probably produce, at an average, 13,000,000 cubic feet of gas every twenty-four hours. The number of lights is variously estimated: in 1823 it was stated before a committee of the House of Commons, that the number was nearly 60,000; and there may now, probably, be six times as many or more. The cost of gas has been lately reduced. The price at present (1850) varies from 4s. to 6s. per 1,000 cubic feet.

*Fires.*—London has suffered from fire oftener, perhaps, than any other capital, except Constantinople: but the precautions taken in rebuilding the city, after the great fire of 1666, were calculated to prevent the recurrence of such a calamity. The streets were made much wider, bricks and stones were substituted for wood, and party walls were built between adjacent buildings. At a subsequent period the Building Act (14 Geo. 3. c. 78.) compelled the erection of thick party-walls between the separate tenements, and obliged each parish to keep one or more fire-engines always ready for service. The various insurance offices also began to maintain fire-engines at their own expense, attended by bodies of well-disciplined firemen; and in 1825 some of the largest of these establishments entered into an arrangement, by which all their force was put under one superintendent. The fire-brigade association was gradually joined



by the other offices, and at present all the London insurance offices contribute to support this most efficient establishment. One superintendent now guides the whole, aided by about 100 foremen and engineers, who are placed at eighteen different stations in all parts of the town and suburbs. The firemen, who are all numbered, wear a uniform of dark grey and a strong leathern helmet; a third part of their body is always on duty, and they are provided with the best means of extinguishing fires, and rescuing persons in danger. The average number of fires for the two years ending with 1850, was 853 per annum; of which number 601 were slight, and 252 seriously destructive.

*Health.* — “The metropolis has in itself all the elements of a healthy city. If the tides leave the banks of the Thames exposed, that great river sweeps through the city from W. to E. and the winds rush fresh over its waters. The land rises in undulations to Hampstead Heath, and the Surrey hills; pure water is abundant, and would flow under almost every street; the artificial heat and gas, noisome as it sometimes is, ascends in a vast column to the sky, and is replaced by under-currents from the surrounding country.” (*App. to Regist. Gen. 2d Rep.*)

But notwithstanding these favourable circumstances, London was long exceedingly unhealthy, and down to 1666 was hardly ever free from the plague. This excess of mortality was, no doubt, occasioned by the wretched state of the town. The streets were then narrow, crooked, many of them unpaved, and generally filthy; the houses, built of wood and lofty, were dark, irregular, and ill-contrived: each story projected over the one below, so that they almost met at the top, thereby precluding, as much as possible, the escape of foul and the access of pure air: the shops were also furnished with enormous signs, which, being suspended crosswise in the middle of the street, tended still further to prevent ventilation: the sewers were, at the same time, in a very imperfect state, the drains which conveyed

away the filth not being arched over, but running above ground; and if we add to this the deficiency of water, and the prevalence of sluttishness in-doors, which then existed to an extent not easily to be imagined\*, we need not wonder at the ravages made by the plague and other diseases. (See *Maitland's Hist. of London*, passim; and *Heberden's Tract on Diseases*, p. 71.)

In 1593 the deaths by the plague within the bills of mortality amounted to 11,503; in 1603, to 30,561; in 1623, to 35,403; in 1636, to 10,400; and in the dreadful pestilence of 1665, they rose to, 68,596! And it is impossible to say how soon it might have again burst forth, had it not been for the severe but providential visitation of the great fire, by which it was immediately followed, and which, by destroying the most crowded and ill-built parts of the city, afforded an opportunity, which was luckily embraced, of rebuilding them on a better and more commodious plan. Very severe regulations were then also laid down for the enforcement of cleanliness; and the supply of water being at the same time augmented and better distributed, and the drains greatly improved and arched over, London has not been again visited by any very destructive epidemics. Still, however, the mortality during the first half of last century was very great; and Short, Corbyn, Morris, Price, and other well-informed writers of the period, indulge in bitter complaints of the severe drain on the country, occasioned by the waste of life in London. The population appears, indeed, to have declined between 1740 and 1750; and during the ten years ending with 1768, the burials appear to have

\* Erasmus, who visited England in the reign of Henry VIII., and was well acquainted with the country, ascribes the prevalence of the sweating sickness (a species of plague) and the plague to the incommodious form and bad exposition of the houses, the filthiness of the streets, and the dirtiness within doors. In a letter to Cardinal Wolsey's physician, he says, speaking of London,—“ *Conclavia sola fere strata sunt argilla, tum scirpis palustribus, qui subinde sic renocantur, ut fundamentum maneat aliquoties annos viginti sub se ferens sputa, vomitus, mictum tum canum et hominum, projectam cerevisiam et piscium reliquias, aliasque sordes non nominandas.*”

amounted at an average to 22,596 a year, while the baptisms did not exceed 15,710. (*Price*, vol. ii. p. 86.) A portion, however, of this enormous discrepancy is apparent only, and may be accounted for by omissions in the registers of baptisms. But it is, notwithstanding, abundantly certain that the deaths very materially exceeded the births at the period referred to; and that they preserved this ascendancy down to a much later period. The mortality in 1765 to 1775 was estimated at about one in twenty, or five per cent. of the existing population; but from this period a very material change for the better began to take place. In 1790 the baptisms, for the first time, exceeded the burials; and during the ten years ending with 1820, there was an excess in the total number of baptisms of 51,000 over the total number of burials. This excess has since continued to increase. Hence it is plain, supposing no unfavourable change to take place, that London might go on adding indefinitely to her population without drawing a single recruit from the country.

The mortality of London in the seven ordinary years (1838 to 1844), was at the average rate of 25 deaths annually out of every 1,000 inhabitants. The mortality, in the same time, was 22 in 1,000, over all England; and only 16 or 18 in 1,000, in the healthiest districts of the country: in eleven of the thirty-eight London districts the mortality was lower than in all England; in six of the districts, from 28 to 30 in 1,000 of the inhabitants died annually. The region round Smithfield, Blackfriars Bridge, and the Tower, is the most unhealthy; the healthier tracts include Lewisham, Hanover Square, Camberwell, and Hackney. The mortality of Paris is about 33 in 1,000 annually; being higher, consequently, than the mortality of the worst districts of London.\*

The mortality of males in London is 27, of females 23 in

\* *Annales d'Hygiène*, Oct. 1850, p. 362.

1,000 : so that out of equal numbers living of the two sexes, 5 males die to 4 females.

The mortality of boys under five years of age, is at the rate of 93 in 1,000 ; of girls of the same age, 80 in 1,000 : the mortality then rapidly declines, and at the age of 10 to 15, is at the rate of 5 in 1,000 in both sexes ; at the age 15 to 25, only 8 males and 6 females in 1,000 die annually ; at the age of 25 to 35, 11 men and 9 women in 1,000 die annually. The mortality then rapidly increases, and 18 men and 14 women in 1,000, of the age of 35 to 45, die annually. It is worthy of remark that at the corresponding age (35 to 45), the mortality of men and women, in all England, is equal, being at the rate of 12 in 1,000 annually. The excess in the mortality of men in London continues up to an advanced age, and is partly accounted for by the fact that a great number of the women are domestic servants, while the men are artisans, and work in close, dirty, crowded rooms.

Of 519,757 deaths in London, during the ten years 1840-49, the causes were returned in 516,708 instances, 9,146 being referred to small-pox, 13,161 to measles, 17,574 to hooping-cough, and 19,084 to scarlatina. These diseases, with water on the brain and convulsions, are chiefly incidental to childhood. So also are pulmonary inflammations, including bronchitis, pleurisy, and pneumonia, which were fatal in 57,924 cases. Of the diseases that attack adults, typhus and consumption are the most destructive ; 19,695 deaths having been ascribed to the former and 69,414 to the latter malady. 4,164 women died in childbirth ; 13,614 persons died violent deaths. Dysentery, which was formerly so common, caused only 1,961 deaths ; diarrhœa 13,505, cholera 15,521. The three latter diseases prevail in summer, the inflammations of the chest in winter.

About one in six of the people of London die in workhouses, hospitals, or lunatic asylums.

Cholera broke out as an epidemic in 1832-34, and again in

1848-49, when it was fatal to above 14,000 persons. The mortality of this epidemic was greatest in low, badly drained, poor districts. It killed 66 in every 10,000 of the inhabitants; but was nearly three times as fatal on the south as on the north side of the Thames. The chief differences in the circumstances of the people north and south of the river are shown in the annexed table from the Registrar-General's returns.

London.	North Side of the River.	South Side of the River.	
39	51	5	Elevation of the ground in feet above Trinity high water mark.
30	52	14	Density, or number of persons to an acre, 1849.
7	8	6	Number of inhabitants to each house, 1841.
40	46	25	Annual value in pounds, of houses, assessed to Income Tax for year ending April 5th, 1843.
13	12	18	Pence paid for relief of the poor to every 1l. of house rent annually, 1842-43.
66	44	127	Deaths from Cholera to 10,000 persons living, in 60 weeks, ending Nov. 24th, 1849.
252	251	257	Deaths from all causes annually to 10,000 persons (5000 males, 5000 females) living, during the 7 years 1838-44.

The deaths have been reduced from 5 per cent. of the inhabitants in the seventeenth century, to 2½ per cent. in the present day; and it is gratifying to find, upon looking into the causes of the excess of mortality which still prevails, that all of them may either be mitigated or counteracted. Measures will, no doubt, be speedily taken for removing Smithfield market and the houses for the slaughter of cattle from the centre of the city; and for interring the dead at a distance from human dwellings. If purer water be required it may be procured, and supplied in abundance. The houses and workshops of the poorer classes have been and may be farther improved. The abuses of the inferior lodging-houses should, in as far as practicable, be corrected. And the sewerage should be perfected. *And, were these things done, London, which is now less un-*

healthy than any other large city, would, probably, enjoy an immunity from epidemics, and be nearly as salubrious as the country in its vicinage.

"It is found, from a comparison of the several metropolitan districts, that, *cæteris paribus*, the mortality increases as the density of the population increases, and that where the density and the population are the same, the rate of mortality depends on the efficiency of the ventilation, and of the means employed for the removal of impurities." (*App. to Regist. Gen. 1st Rep.*) Epidemic diseases in the crowded parts of London are attended with nearly double the mortality that belongs to them in more airy districts; and diseases of the respiratory system are increased 50 per cent. in close neighbourhoods. Mr. Farr's statements in the Report of the Registrar General, in regard to the importance of ventilation and drainage, are fully corroborated by Dr. Smith, Dr. Arnot, and other authorities. The following table represents the mean annual mortality *per cent.* in the metropolis, and in England and Wales, from twelve classes of disease. (*2d Rep., App. p. 13.*)

Classes of Disease.	Metropolis.	England and Wales.
1. Epidemic - - - }	·742	·452
Endemic - - - }		
Contagious - - - }		
2. Nervous system - - -	·437	·332
3. Respiratory Organs - - -	·770	·605
4. Circulating do. - - -	·045	·024
5. Digestive do. - - -	·160	·129
6. Urinary do. - - -	·013	·011
7. Generative do. - - -	·028	·021
8. Locomotive do. - - -	·021	·014
9. Integumentary system - - -	·004	·003
10. Uncertain - - -	·285	·295
11. Old age - - -	·219	·237
12. Violent deaths - - -	·075	·081
All causes of death - - -	2·800	2·203
Population to one square mile -	26,903	269

Summer is the healthiest, winter the most fatal season : and this rule has prevailed since the beginning of last century. The deaths out of 100 living (1838) averaged in January, February, March, '85 ; in April, May, June, '70 ; in July, August, September, '60 ; in October, November, December, '66.

*Increase of Population.*—It is much to be regretted that there are no accurate accounts of the population of London previously to the census of 1801. The population of the city was, however, estimated by Graunt, the well-informed author of the famous *Treatise on Bills of Mortality*, at 384,000 in 1661, and adding one-fifth to this for the population of Westminster, Lambeth, Stepney, and other outlying parishes, he estimated the entire population at about 460,000. (*Observations*, &c. 5th ed. p. 82. and p. 105.) In all large towns, except (as in Petersburg) there be a great excess of military, the number of females is, in modern times, found invariably to exceed that of males ; but, if we may depend on Graunt's estimate, the reverse was the case in the city of London at the epoch referred to, for he makes the number of males 199,112, and of females only 184,886. (p. 83.) In 1696 the population of the city and the out parishes was carefully estimated, by the celebrated Gregory King, at 527,560 ; and considering the great additions that had been made to the metropolis between the Restoration and the Revolution, this increase does not seem to be greater than we should have been led to infer from Graunt's estimate. The population advanced slowly during the first half of last century, and indeed, as already stated, it fell off between 1740 and 1750. In his tract on the population of England, published in 1782, Dr. Price estimated the population of London, in 1777, at only 543,420. (p. 5.) But there can be no doubt that this estimate, like that which he gave of the population of the kingdom, was very decidedly under the mark ; and the probability seems to be that, in 1777, London had from 640,000 to 650,000

inhabitants.\* Its population amounted, including Chelsea, as has been already seen, to 888,198 in 1801, and to 1,873,676 in 1841; and at present it is probably little short of, if it do not exceed, the prodigious amount of 2,100,000—the greatest number of human beings ever, we believe, congregated within an equal space, in any age or country.

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“Opulent, enlarg’d, and still  
Increasing LONDON! Babylon of old,  
Not more the glory of the earth than she,  
A more accomplish’d world’s chief glory now.”

London is, no doubt, principally indebted for her extraordinary rise and unexampled magnitude, to her admirable situation, on a great navigable river within a short distance of the sea, and in the centre of a rich and fertile country, of which she is naturally the emporium. Her river enables her to obtain abundant supplies of all the bulkier descriptions of products, not only of all parts of the United Kingdom, but also of the world, at the lowest possible cost. The advantages thence resulting have been great and obvious. A city in an inland situation never could have attained to any thing like the colossal magnitude of London. Indeed, almost all great cities, in all ages of the world, have been built either on the sea-shore or on the banks of some great navigable river. Paris is probably the largest city that ever existed without any very great command of water carriage. But her advance has been slow compared with that of London; and notwithstanding the advantage she has long enjoyed, from being the capital of a powerful monarchy, and the residence of a polished and luxurious court, her population is not, at this moment, half that of London.

The extraordinary growth of the latter during the present century seems to be mainly attributable to the same causes that

\* See the Tracts of the Rev. Mr. Howlett and of Mr. Wales, in answer to Dr. Price.



have increased wealth and population in other parts of the empire, that is, to the progress of arts, manufactures, and commerce. Though not in the manufacturing districts, London is now, by means of canals, railways, and other improved means of communication, intimately connected with them; and the many advantages she enjoys as a trading and commercial port, will always secure for her a large share of the shipments of manufactured products. London has also derived a vast accession of influence from her being the seat of government, the place where the dividends on the public debt are paid, where all transfers of stock are effected, and where all the important pecuniary transactions of the empire are ultimately adjusted. And how paradoxical soever it may at first sight appear, it is certainly true that the very magnitude of London is an efficient cause of her continued increase. The greater a city becomes, the greater is the scope she affords for the exercise of every talent and acquirement, and for the gratification of every taste and desire; and the more powerful, consequently, are the motives by which she attracts all sorts of individuals, whether aspiring or careless, industrious or idle, grave or gay, virtuous or profligate.

The brief but comprehensive account given by Seneca, of the motives which drew so great a concourse of people to imperial Rome, applies without the alteration of a syllable to London:—  
*“Aspice aedem hanc frequentiam, cui vix urbis immensæ tecta sufficiunt. Ex municipiis et coloniis suis, ex toto denique orbe terrarum confluerunt. Alios adducit ambitio, alios necessitas officii publici, alios imposita legatio, alios luxuria, opulentum et opportunum vitiis locum quærens: alios liberalium studiorum cupiditas, alios spectacula: quosdam trahit amicitia, quosdam industria, latam ostendendæ virtuti nacta materiam: quidam vana formam attulerunt, quidam vana eloquentiam. Nullum non hominum genus concurrat in urbem, et virtutibus et vitiis magna præmia ponentem.”*—*Consolat. ad Helviam*, cap. 6.

Vast as London is, the chances are, should the country continue to prosper, that she, also, will continue to increase in magnitude. And the progress she has already made, unprecedented as it has been, may, not improbably, be surpassed by that which she is yet destined to make.

*Habits, Condition, &c.*—The peculiarities of character belonging to the inhabitants of London must be learnt from observing the manners of the middle and lower classes, especially the latter; for the higher classes, who reside in it only during four or five months of the spring and summer, can scarcely be called Londoners. Great activity, unwearied diligence in business, a shrewd perception of character, and an ever-watchful regard to self-interest, not unmingled, however, with generosity, are the chief characteristics of the native population. Owing to the extreme subdivision of employments, and the undivided attention which most individuals give to their own pursuit, the citizens are, for the most part, singularly expert in it, and proportionally ignorant of every thing else. This, however, is less so now than formerly; the extensive circulation of cheap publications having diffused information in regard to many topics of which the bulk of the population had formerly the most imperfect ideas. The principal merchants, bankers, and tradesmen, have generally houses in the environs of the town, or in the country, to which they retire after business during summer; and many indeed, though with little advantage to their business, occupy these houses during the whole year. Others again, who are, or pretend to be, of the highest class, have houses in the west end of the town as well as in the country, and live in first-rate style. But the expenses in which they are thus involved frequently exceed their means, and are a principal cause of those wild speculations and disgraceful failures which, of late years, have been so very frequent. The wealth of London is not, in truth, to be found amongst those who make the greatest display, but among the quiet living, unostentatious, tradesmen.

The inferior shopkeepers and tradesmen, though sometimes very wealthy, abstain from all expensive indulgences. Sometimes, indeed, they resort to an over-crowded watering-place for a week or fortnight, trying, in vain, to rid themselves of the anxieties of business. But a far larger number may say, with Mrs. Gilpin,

"For twice ten tedious years, yet we  
No holiday have seen."

The London tradesman, unlike the Parisian, is essentially domestic. He knows nothing of *table-d'hôtes*. His visits to the sea-side, the country, his friends or club, are all exceptions to his ordinary regularity.

Most classes of skilled workmen receive high wages, which having been little, if at all, reduced since 1815, they are at present much better off than during the war. Their circumstances vary, of course, according to their prudence. Few save money; but all live well, using butchers' meat to an extent unknown any where else, and dressing, on holidays at least, in a style equal to that of the classes above them. Many, not contented with one holiday in the week, keep a second, known as "St. Monday," and not unfrequently a third, sometimes spent in revelry, but more frequently, perhaps, in country excursions with their families. Others, however, work unremittingly from one year's end to the other, content with an Easter or Whit-monday's trip to Gravesend or Sheerness in a steamer, or to Windsor or Brighton by a pleasure train, or to Hampton Court, Richmond, Kew, Hampstead, or Blackheath, on a pic-nic excursion. In summer mornings large parties may be seen leaving town on some such expedition, in vans, well provided with good cheer, and not unfrequently, also, with one or more musicians; and in the evenings the same parties may be seen returning in a state of uproarious enjoyment. But it must,

notwithstanding, be admitted, that beer-shops and gin shops are the favourite resorts of the labouring classes of London.

The class of female domestic servants comprises a far greater number of individuals than any other business or occupation in London. Their wages are high, and they are in general extremely well off. Perhaps they are not as provident as they might be, and that money is frequently spent on useless finery that had better be deposited in Savings' banks. Needlewomen, washerwomen, &c., especially the former, are not nearly so well off as in-door servants; and it would not, we think, be difficult to show, were this a proper place for such discussions, why this is the case. On the whole, however, it may be safely affirmed that nowhere in the United Kingdom are the industrious classes, provided they be well conducted, so comfortably situated as in London.

The lowest class of all, those whose means of existence are precarious, disreputable, or dishonest, have peculiar habits. They care little for appearances; and are all but unknown to the rest of the people, except when their wants or delinquencies intrude them on the public notice.

All classes of Londoners, from the highest to the lowest, are brought together on Epsom Downs on the "Derby," or grand race day. The assemblage is as motley as it is immense; but nowhere else in the world is there to be seen so vast a concourse of well-dressed people, splendid equipages, and high-bred horses. All the characteristic humours of the lower classes are displayed on the road and on the Downs.

*Environs.*—The metropolis is surrounded by a country of varied surface and great productiveness. The ground on the east, west, and south, extends in a flat along the river, which is prevented from inundating it at high water by extensive embankments, probably constructed by the Romans. On the north the ground rises gradually to an elevation of 300 or 400 feet, and the flat on the south is also bounded by grounds which

attain to a like elevation. The picturesque hills of Surrey, near Dulwich and Norwood, are studded with the villas of citizens, who retire thither from the bustle of town. Blackheath, more to the east, and nearer the river, though not so fashionable as in the days when Greenwich had a palace and a court, continues to be a favourite resort in summer, and its buildings have increased since the access to it has been facilitated by the railway. North of the metropolis lie Hampstead and Highgate, both of which command extensive views of Hertfordshire, Surrey, and other counties: these villages, with others on the north, and Dulwich, Camberwell, Clapham, &c., on the south, side of the river, consist, mostly, of the houses of tradesmen and others who daily visit the city in pursuit of business. This prevalent fashion among the Londoners of fixing their abode in the suburbs has been greatly encouraged by the easy communication afforded by the *omnibuses* and coaches which run to and from at all hours of the day, and till late at night. Owing to this circumstance, the population of the city proper has decreased since the commencement of the present century. It may now, indeed, be called a collection of shops and warehouses rather than of residences for families. The suburban villas vary in size and grandeur, according to the means or tastes of their proprietors; but comfort and neatness are their universal characteristics.

*Corporation.*—The City of London is under the government of the lord mayor, 2 sheriffs, 25 aldermen, 206 common-councilmen, a recorder, and other officers, and is divided for municipal purposes into 26 wards, each of which is under the government of an alderman. The Saxon denomination for the governor of London was *portgraf* or *portreeve*, which, about a century after the Conquest, was changed to mayor. This officer was appointed by the Crown till 1215, when the citizens obtained the right of electing their own mayor. The mode of election now followed was fixed in 1476 by an act of common-council.

The lord mayor is annually chosen from the body of aldermen, at a court held at Guildhall on Michaelmas day, and is sworn in to the duties of his office on the 9th of November following. A grand pageant takes place on the occasion, followed by a dinner and ball at Guildhall. In most instances, though not always, the alderman next in seniority to the lord mayor is elected his successor. He is always free of one of the city companies, and must have served the office of sheriff. The lord mayor is second only to the sovereign within the city, and at the sovereign's death he takes his seat at the privy council, and signs before every other subject. His powers are similar to those of a lord-lieutenant of a county, and his authority extends over the whole city and a portion of the suburbs.

The division of the city into wards appears to have been made very early in the thirteenth century; there were twenty-four wards, which became twenty-five in the year 1393, by a division of the ward of Farringdon. In 1550, a great part of the borough of Southwark was formed into a ward, and called Bridge Ward Without; but it is now merely a nominal ward, giving a name to the senior alderman, who on the occasion of a vacancy is removed to it from his own ward, and is then called "the father of the city."

The following is an alphabetical list of the names of the wards, with an indication of their situation, and the number of common-councilmen.\*

1. Aldersgate, on both sides of Aldersgate Street, including the Post-office. Common-councilmen, eight.

2. Aldgate, at the east end of the city, includes the east ends of Leadenhall Street, and Fenchurch Street, and Crutched Friars, called Alegate in the old list of 1285, given by Maitland. Common-councilmen, eight.

\* At first each ward sent two councillors, but the number has been gradually increased, till it reached 240 in the whole: but by a regulation made in 1839, the number was reduced to 206.

3. Bassishaw (corrupted from Basinge's-haugh) includes little more than Basinghall Street. Common-councilmen, four.

4. Billingsgate, from Billingsgate Market to near Fenchurch Street. Common-councilmen, eight.

5. Bishopsgate, both sides of Bishopsgate Street. Common-councilmen, fourteen.

6. Bread Street, east of St. Paul's, and south-west of Cheapside. Common-councilmen, eight.

7. Bridge Within, London Bridge, and Fish Street Hill, includes the Monument. Common-councilmen, eight.

8. Bridge Without, part of the Borough of Southwark.

9. Broad Street, between Bishopsgate Ward, and Coleman Street, includes the Bank; this is apparently the Lodgingber of the ancient list. Common-councilmen, eight.

10. Candlewick, between Lombard Street and London Bridge, named from Cannon Street, which was formerly called Candlewick Street. Common-councilmen, six.

11. Castle Baynard, from St. Paul's to the Thames. Common-councilmen, eight.

12. Cheap, both sides of the east end of Cheapside and the Poultry, including Guildhall. This is probably Ward Fori in the ancient list. Common-councilmen, eight.

13. Coleman Street, includes Lothbury, part of London Wall and Finsbury Circus. Common-councilmen, eight.

14. Cordwainers, south-east of Cheapside, includes Bow Church. Common-councilmen, six.

15. Cornhill, a small ward on both sides of Cornhill, includes the Exchange. Common-councilmen, six.

16. Cripplegate, reaches from Wood Street, Cheapside, to the boundary of the city on the north; it includes Fore Street and the Barbican. Common-councilmen, sixteen.

17. Dowgate, between Southwark Bridge and London Bridge, includes Merchant Tailors' School. Common-councilmen, six.

18. Farringdon Within, includes St. Paul's Cathedral, part of Cheapside, Newgate Street, and Ludgate Street, and reaches the river near Blackfriars Bridge; this and the following are the "Lodgate and Newgate" of the old list. Common-councilmen, fourteen.

19. Farringdon Without, includes Smithfield, the Old Bailey, the Fleet, part of Holborn, and the whole of Fleet Street. Common-councilmen, sixteen.

20. Langbourne, includes Fenchurch Street, and a part of Lombard Street. Common-councilmen, eight.

21. Lime Street, includes the East India House, and a small space around it. Common-councilmen, four.

22. Portsoken, eastward of Houndsditch and the Minorities. Common-councilmen, eight.

23. Queenhithe, on the River, west of Southwark Bridge. Common-councilmen, six.

24. Tower, from Tower Hill to Billingsgate, includes the Custom House. Common-councilmen, eight.

25. Vintry, on the Thames, and both sides of Southwark Bridge. Common-councilmen, six.

26. Walbrook, south of the Mansion House, includes the Mansion House, and the church of St. Stephen's, Walbrook. Common-councilmen, six.

The aldermen are chosen by such householders as are freemen, and pay an annual rent of ten pounds. Each alderman is elected for life, and has the direction of the business of his ward, under the superintendence of the lord mayor. They are all justices of the peace within the city. The sheriffs are elected every year, on Midsummer day, by the corporation and freemen, and are sheriffs of the county of Middlesex, as well as of the city of London: they enter on their duties, and are sworn in at Westminster, on Michaelmas day. The common-councilmen are chosen by the householders in all the wards except Bridge Without. The common-councilmen are the



representatives of the inhabitants in the "Court of Common Council," which is composed of the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-councilmen. This court disposes of the corporation funds, makes laws for the regulation of the city, and nominates certain of the city officers. Its sittings are usually public, and its title "honourable."

It must, however, be admitted that here, as in most other great towns, civic dignities have been long declining in the public estimation. The principal bankers, merchants, and tradesmen, all but uniformly decline serving in any civic office, and rather than do this will submit to pay very heavy fines. In consequence, the offices in question have been filled, for some years past, by an inferior, though still very respectable class of citizens. It has been customary, on certain occasions, to advance lord mayors, and other city functionaries, to the rank of knights and baronets. But it were well that this practice, which has nothing save its antiquity to recommend it, were discontinued. It has sometimes made honours be conferred on very questionable parties.

The Livery consists of freemen of the city, who are also free of one or other of the city companies. Each of these companies was, at its formation, intended to comprise the different individuals within the city, properly so called, engaged in the peculiar department of industry called by its name; and had power to enact bye-laws, and to lay down regulations for the government of the trade. Thus, for example, no one could commence business within the city of London as grocer, mercer, or goldsmith, without being free of the grocers', mercers', or goldsmiths' companies; and this freedom could only be acquired by inheritance, serving an apprenticeship to a freeman, or paying a fine, or otherwise, as the company might choose to order; and after admission, all individuals had to conform in the conduct of their business to the rules and regulations laid down by the company. But the inconveniences of this

system gradually became obvious; and it has, in consequence, been so much modified, that the privileges of the different incorporated companies no longer oppose any obstacle to individuals from distant parts of the country establishing themselves in business within the city, nor interfere in any degree with the management of their concerns. In fact, any one who pleases may now purchase at Guildhall a license entitling him to trade within the city for five pounds without being free of, or having anything to do with, any company. The city companies have, in truth, become charitable rather than political, or even municipal, institutions. Some of them have a great deal of property. The principal companies obtained very large grants of land in Ulster during the reign of James I.; and most of them are trustees for sums of money and other property bequeathed by benevolent individuals. They expend their revenues partly in festivities, but principally in pensions to widows and decayed brethren, the support of schools, &c. There are, in all, ninety-one companies, of which forty have halls, where they transact business, keep their records, and hold festivals. Some of these halls are very fine fabrics; that of the goldsmiths in Foster Lane, rebuilt since 1831, is a magnificent structure; and were it in a situation where it could be seen, would be one of the principal ornaments of the city.

The following twelve are called the *Great Companies*, from one or other of which the lord mayor was formerly chosen; but he may now be selected indifferently from any company.

Mercers.

Grocers.

Drapers.

Fishmongers.

Goldsmiths.

Skinners.

Merchant Tailors.

Haberdashers.

Salters.

Ironmongers.

Vintners.

Clothworkers.

There are about 12,000 liverymen, in whom, previously to the passing of the Reform Act, in 1832, the right of returning the four members of the House of Commons for the city was exclusively vested. A Common Hall is an assembly of the liverymen, called together at the requisition of a considerable number of their body : the lord mayor is the president by right of office.

The Guildhall, where the Corporation meetings, festivals, and common halls are held, stands at the north end of King Street, Cheapside. Having been much damaged in the great fire of 1666, it was replaced by the present edifice, constructed of the materials of the old building. The front, added in 1789, is in a heterogeneous style. The great hall, 153 feet in length, by 48 in breadth, and 53 in height, built and paved of stone, is capable of accommodating 6000 persons ; at least that number were present at the grand entertainment given by the corporation to the allied sovereigns in 1814. At each end of the hall is a magnificent painted glass window in the pointed style ; but the roof is flat, panelled, and inappropriate ; and the whole requires to be renovated and made consistent with the original character of the building. In the hall are statues erected by the corporation in honour of Lord Chatham and his son the Right Honourable William Pitt, Nelson, and Alderman Beckford. On the pedestal of the latter is inscribed the famous reply made, or rather said to have been made, in 1770, by Beckford, who was then lord mayor, and one of the members for the city, to the answer of his majesty (George III.) to an address and remonstrance of the common council.\* At the west end of the hall are the two wooden giants called Gog and Magog, the subject of so many nursery tales. In the council-chamber, where the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council

\* It appears to be pretty well established that Beckford did not really make the reply ascribed to him.

hold their courts, is a statue of George III. by Chantrey ; it has also a library containing books of reference, relative chiefly to the history of London, and the affairs of the city, and various other rooms for the use of the corporation.

The city has its peculiar courts of law, most of which are held in the Guildhall. The lord mayor's court, for actions of debts and trespass, and for appeals, is presided over by the recorder of the city. The sheriffs hold courts of record four days every week. The Chamberlain's court, held daily, decides disputes between masters and apprentices, and admits qualified persons to the freedom of the city. Courts of Petty Session for small offences are held daily at the Mansion House, by the lord mayor and an alderman, and at the Guildhall by two aldermen. There are also several minor courts.

The revenues of the corporation of London amounted, according to the commissioners' report, to 152,035*l.* in 1831, and to 160,194*l.* in 1832. These large funds are derived from rents of houses and land, market tolls, bequests, interest on government securities, and a few other sources. The expenditure in the year 1831 was 149,411*l.*, and in 1832, 169,256*l.* : the chief items consist of salaries to municipal officers, maintenance of police and prisons, corporation entertainments, purchase of securities, and payment of debts. The lord mayor has 8000*l.* a year allowed him to support the dignity of his office, and a splendid official residence, the Mansion House, at the east end of the Poultry, nearly opposite the Bank. This, which has been much, and in some respects, perhaps, not very justly censured, is a large structure, begun in 1739, and finished in 1753, with a Corinthian portico on a rustic basement. The grand or Egyptian Hall (in which, however, there is nothing Egyptian!), the ball-room, and the saloon, are magnificent apartments, but some of the private apartments, occupied by the lord mayor, are but indifferently lighted. The plate used at civic entertainments belongs to the corporation, and is very valuable.

The city of Westminster was anciently governed by the abbot; but since the Reformation it has been under the authority of civil officers nominated by the dean. The chief magistrate is the high steward, generally a nobleman, who holds the office for life; the next is the high bailiff, chosen by the high steward, who also holds the office for life. There are sixteen burgesses, whose offices are similar to those of aldermen, each having jurisdiction in a separate ward; out of these are elected two head burgesses, one for the city and the other for the liberties, who take rank after the high bailiff; each burgess has an assistant; there is also a high constable, who has authority over the other constables. The Court of Quarter Sessions is held at the Westminster town-hall four times a year. The court of St. Martin's-le-Grand is held for the trial of personal actions relating to that part of the liberties. The court-leet is held under the authority of the dean, for choosing officers, removing nuisances, and similar matters.

Southwark was anciently governed by its own officers, but since the year 1327, it has been for many purposes subject to the lord mayor, who governs by a steward and bailiff, the former of whom holds a court of record every Monday at the Town-hall in the Borough High Street. Another court is held at Bankside for the Clink liberty, a mean densely-peopled district, to the westward of London Bridge.

*Parliamentary Representation.*—Down to the passing of the Reform Act, in 1832, the metropolis sent eight members to the House of Commons, viz., four for the city, elected by the liverymen; two for the city of Westminster, elected by scot and lot voters; and two for the borough of Southwark, also elected by scot and lot voters. In addition to the above, the Reform Act created four new boroughs, out of parts of the metropolis not included in the former boroughs; viz., those of Marylebone, Finsbury, the Tower Hamlets, and Lambeth, giving to each two members. Hence the metropolis now

returns sixteen members to the House of Commons elected by the 10*l*. householders, and those previously in possession of the franchise. Subjoined is an

ACCOUNT of the Parliamentary Boroughs in the Metropolis, with the Number of their Representatives, and the Electors registered in each in 1849-50.

Boroughs.	Members.	Electors, 1849-50.
London (City of) - - -	4	20,250
Westminster - - -	2	15,312
Marylebone - - -	2	18,079
Finsbury - - -	2	17,735
Tower Hamlets - - -	2	21,131
Southwark - - -	2	9,510
Lambeth - - -	2	16,284
Total - - -	16	118,301

*Historical Notice.*—Nothing is known of London previously to the invasion of the Romans; and it may be doubted, from the silence of Julius Cæsar, whether it then existed, or, at all events, whether it had attained to any considerable magnitude. But, however this may be, it is clear, from the statement of Tacitus (*Anal.* lib. xiv. cap. 33.), already referred to, that so early as the reign of Nero it was an important emporium, though not distinguished by the title of colony; and it is doubtful whether it ever attained to that distinction.\*

After the Romans had left Britain, and the Saxons had divided the country among themselves, London is supposed to have become the capital of the east Saxon kingdom. On the introduction of Christianity into England, it was one of the first places to embrace the new faith, and early became a

\* In a note on this passage Brotier says: "Urbs opibus ingenisque celeberrima—Quod autem in omni retrò memoriâ unicum est exemplum, per tot sæcula crevit semper ejus celebritas, nunc fermè immensa."

bishop's see. St. Paul's, and St. Peter's, in Westminster, were first founded about this time. In the paucity of intelligence concerning the period of the heptarchy, all we hear of London is, that it suffered severely from fire in 764, 798, and 801, on each of which occasions it is said to have been nearly destroyed. As soon as England had been united under one monarch, it appears to have become the metropolis of the empire; and, in 833, a wittenagemot, or parliament, was held in it to consult on the best means of repelling the Danes, who were ravaging the eastern counties. It was, however, sacked by the Danes in 839: in 982 it was nearly destroyed by fire; and in 994, the inhabitants purchased a temporary remission from the attacks of the Danes, by paying them a high ransom.

At the Conquest, London submitted to William, and soon after received a charter in the English language, the original of which is still preserved. Within the sixty years following the Norman conquest it suffered severely by fire on five different occasions; but being then built principally of wood, it was easily repaired from the timber furnished by the extensive forests of Islington and Hornsey, which still existed when Fitzstephen wrote in the succeeding century. London was then unpaved, and, if we may believe the statement of contemporary historians, the rafters of the roof of Bow church, which were blown off by a hurricane in 1091, struck into the ground to a depth of twenty feet. The same hurricane caused so high a tide in the Thames, that the wooden bidge, which had stood 200 years, was carried away by the stream. On the accession of Henry I., in 1100, a new charter was granted to the city, which restored its ancient privileges, as they existed before the Norman conquest; relieved the inhabitants from many oppressive services, such as compulsory entertainment of the king's household, and abolished several barbarous customs of the Saxon period. The citizens acquired by this *charter* the privilege of choosing their own magistrates. The

Norman monarchs, it is true, seldom respected corporate privileges, even when conceded by themselves; but still this charter was valuable as furnishing a standard to which to refer in future disputes with the crown, and it is said to have served as the model from which Magna Charta was taken. About the middle of the twelfth century, it was determined to build a stone bridge over the Thames. The first wooden bridge having, as already stated, been carried away in 1091, was replaced by another, which was burned down in 1136. The bridge erected instead of the latter became so ruinous in less than thirty years, that it was thought a stone bridge would be less costly in the end than the continual repairs required to keep up these unsubstantial, though cheaper structures. The latter, begun in 1176, and finished in 1209, was an extraordinary work for the time; and may be said to have been the very bridge taken down in 1832, though frequent alterations, additions, and repairs, had materially impaired its identity. Three years after its erection, a dreadful loss of human life was occasioned by a fire on the bridge, described in Stow's Chronicle:—"The tenth of July at night, the city of London upon the south side of the river of Thames, with the church of our Ladie of the Canons in Southwarke, being on fire, and an exceeding great multitude of people passing the bridge, sodainely the north parte, by blowing of the south winde, was also set on fire, and the people which were even now passing the bridge, perceiving the same, would have returned, but were stopped with fire; and it came to passe, that as they protracted time, the south ende was fired, so that people thronging themselves betwixt the two fires, there came to aide them many ships and vessels, into the which the multitude so undiscreetly pressed, that the ships being drowned, it was saide, there were destroyed about three thousand persons." About this time an order was made by the court of aldermen that no house should be built without party walls three feet in thickness, and sixteen



feet in height. This order, dated in 1191, was doubtless intended to obviate the recurrence of the fires by which the city had been often partially destroyed ; but it was little, if at all, attended to, and is interesting principally from its being the first document in which the chief magistrate of London is designated Lord Mayor. He had hitherto been called Chief Bailiff.

In the year 1211, the citizens began to form a deep ditch, 200 feet in width, without the city wall on all sides, as a means of defence against King John. In 1218 the forest of Middlesex was cleared, and the citizens of London were permitted to purchase land and build thereon. Thus was begun that part of the metropolis which stands north of the city, and is now so populous. In 1221, Henry III. laid the first stone of the present Westminster Abbey. In 1236, water pipes began to be laid down in the city, which had previously been supplied with water from wells and rivulets running through it into the Thames, the names, at least, of some of which are still preserved. The pipes now referred to brought a copious stream from springs at Tyburn, a village on the site of the present Oxford Street, near its west end, to the city of London. Various leaden cisterns, named conduits, were afterwards constructed for the reception of the water, whence it was drawn by the inhabitants. In 1282, during a great frost, such masses of ice were brought down the Thames, that five arches of London bridge were destroyed. In 1304 the first recorder was appointed.

Early in the fourteenth century coal began to be imported into London ; and a notion having got abroad that its smoke was injurious to the public health, parliament petitioned the king, Edward I., in 1316, to prohibit the burning of coal, on the ground of its being an intolerable nuisance ! But experience served, in no very lengthened period, to dissipate this groundless prejudice. The imports of coal have continued progres-

sively to increase; and its ample supply has been one of the circumstances that have contributed most to the unexampled magnitude of the city, and the comfort of the inhabitants.

In 1328, in consequence of the facility with which felons made their escape from London, across the bridge into the adjoining village of Southwark, which, until then, was beyond the mayor's jurisdiction, Edward III. granted a charter assigning this village to the city for ever, and empowering the city magistrates to act in Southwark as in London.

In 1349 the kingdom was scourged by a pestilence which is said to have raged with extreme severity in London. The city was again visited by the plague in 1361; and it is worth notice, that this visitation was ascribed, and probably with good reason, to the corruption occasioned by the slaughter of cattle, sheep, &c., in the city. In consequence his majesty, Edward III., issued a proclamation, forbidding the slaughter of all animals nearer than Stratford and Knightsbridge. But the butchers, tavern-keepers, and others, interested in the support of the Smithfield nuisance, had then, as now, influence enough to set at nought the authority of the monarch, and to perpetuate their pestilential abomination. (*Stow's Survey*, i., 2. ed. 1754.)\*

In 1381 the rebellion of Wat Tyler, and his death by the hands of the lord mayor, occasioned the addition of the dagger to the city arms, where it still appears. During this century various reforms were effected in the cleaning and paving of the streets. But an effectual stop was put to these and all other improvements in 1392, when, in consequence of the refusal of a loan of 10,000*l.* to King Richard by the corporation, the mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, and principal citizens were imprisoned, heavy penalties exacted, the city franchises abrogated, and the courts removed to York. Heavy bribes effected a removal of several

\* There is now, however (April, 1851), a considerable probability that the nuisance will be speedily abated.

of these grievances ; but the city did not recover its proper influence till the accession of Henry IV.

In the following century the progress of improvement was still more rapid. Lamps were introduced in 1416. Holborn, a part of the Strand, and other principal thoroughfares, were paved ; additional conduits and water-pipes were laid down ; and wooden houses began to be replaced by others of brick, made in Moorfields. Stocks, for the punishment of disorderly persons, were erected in the different wards. And Guildhall, Leadenhall, and Crosby-house, in Bishopsgate Street (a portion of which has recently been restored), were built.

In the sixteenth century the advance was much greater. An unusually long exemption from those civil wars which had, under the Plantagenets, inflicted great injury on London, and the kingdom generally, gave leisure to introduce those improvements which distinguish a modern town from a town of the middle ages. The city watch was improved, various nuisances were removed, and street paving became more general. The removal of monasteries had also a great effect in improving London : fifty-four large and many smaller establishments made way for factories, schools, charitable asylums, and hospitals. St. James's Palace was built, the park was laid out, and many new buildings were erected in Westminster. The two cities were now first joined by a number of mansions of the nobility on the north side of the river ; one of which, Northumberland House, still keeps its place. The streets south of the Strand indicate by their names the site of other mansions that have disappeared. The Royal Exchange was built, and commerce began to flourish. Towards the end of this century water began to be conveyed by machinery into private houses, and the New River was projected.

In the seventeenth century London assumed its present form, with the exception of the part destroyed by the great fire of 1666. *Spitalfields* was covered with houses ; and before 1666,

the space north of the Strand as far as Holborn, and from Temble Bar to St. Martin's Lane, had been extensively built upon. The parts of Westminster, also, from Charing Cross to St. James's Palace, began to have the appearance of a town. The New River was completed, and many houses were supplied with water. Sewers were dug, smooth pavements were laid down for foot passengers, and hackney-coaches became general.

But, after all, these were but imperfect palliatives of all but incorrigible disorders. We have previously noticed the narrow, dirty, and filthy state of the streets and houses of the city in the seventeenth century, and the ravages committed in it by the plague, from which it was then rarely, if ever, wholly exempted. And it would have been extremely difficult, or rather, perhaps, impossible, to have introduced a different and improved state of things by legislative or municipal regulations. But what they could not effect was effected by widely different means. On the 2nd of September, 1666, the great fire broke out in Pudding Lane, near the spot where the Monument was subsequently erected in commemoration of the occurrence. It raged till the 5th, when it ceased, rather by pulling down houses in the line of its course, than by the success of the exertions directly to extinguish the flames. The ruins, covering 336 acres, comprised 13,200 houses, 90 churches, and many public buildings; the property destroyed being estimated at 10,000,000*l*. Though productive of great loss, and of much temporary distress and suffering, this conflagration was, in its results at least, of signal advantage. Its destructive agency was required to get rid of the vast mass of old wooden houses, and narrow and filthy lanes and courts, that had for centuries been the permanent abode of the plague and other pestilential diseases. No doubt it must ever be regretted, that the designs of Sir Christopher Wren for the renovation of the city were not adopted. But notwithstanding the numerous defects of the new plan, it was a vast improvement on that by which it had been preceded. Though

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still too narrow, the streets were materially widened; the new houses were constructed of brick instead of wood; party walls were introduced; the old practice of making each story project over that immediately below was abandoned; obstructions and filth of all sorts were removed; and the sewerage and pavement of the streets were vastly improved. A fire which happened in Southwark ten years afterwards, afforded an opportunity for carrying similar improvements into that part of the metropolis. The population and trade of the city now increased more rapidly than before. The revocation of the edict of Nantes occasioned the immigration of a great number of French, who settled in Spitalfields and St. Giles's. The parishes of St. Anne and St. James were formed, the district called the Seven Dials was built, Piccadilly began to extend west, and Soho Square and Golden Square were laid out. St. Paul's cathedral was almost completed; the parish of Wapping was formed east of the city; the Penny Post Office was instituted; and several miscalled asylums (such as Alsatia and the Mint), where robbery and crime had been protected, were abolished.

From this period the increase of London and the progress of improvement have continuously advanced. In the early part of the eighteenth century, an act was passed for building fifty new churches in and about the metropolis, most of which were completed within a few years, and some of them are still among its ornaments. Houses sprang up on every side; and by the middle of the century the west end of the town, as far as Hyde Park, became a compact mass of buildings, reaching beyond Oxford Street on the north, and extending east from Portman Square, across Tottenham Court Road, past Montague House and Gray's Inn Gardens, through Clerkenwell, Finsbury Square, Spitalfields, and Whitechapel to Wapping. Before this time water-works had been formed at Chelsea in aid of the supply furnished by the New River. Sewers had become more general, *lamps had been fixed* in all the principal streets, the Bank of

England and Westminster Bridge were built, St. Paul's completed, and Fleet Ditch arched over. In the last half century Blackfriars Bridge was built, the houses encumbering London Bridge were removed, the Mansion House was finished, and Somerset House erected. At the same time, many unsightly and inconvenient buildings were removed; lamps were much increased in number, and lighted during the whole night; raised footways became universal, and the shops, which before were mere stalls, assumed a size and splendour evincing the wealth of their occupiers, and greatly contributing to the ornament of the town.

The citizens of London have, generally speaking, been distinguished by their orderly behaviour and respect for the laws. In 1780, however, the peace, and even in some degree the existence, of the metropolis, were compromised by the excesses of the mob. Certain concessions made in the course of the previous year to the Roman Catholics, had provoked a good deal of religious excitement in all parts of the kingdom. The contagion spread to London; and the weakness of the government, and the folly, or rather madness, of Lord George Gordon, and other leaders of the ultra Protestant party, led to a dangerous riot. The mob were, in fact, for about two days, masters of the city. They took possession of the prisons, and turned the inmates out of doors; destroyed the chapels of the ambassadors of the different Catholic powers; many private houses, including that of Lord Mansfield, were plundered and set on fire; a great distillery belonging to a Catholic firm shared the same fate; and an attack was made on the Bank, which, however, was happily repelled. At length, this formidable riot was effectually put down, though not till a considerable number of the rioters had been killed and wounded. Since this disgraceful epoch, the peace of the city has not been seriously endangered; and the troops in and about town, added to the effective police force that now exists, seem quite adequate, under ordinary circum-

stances, to ensure the public tranquillity and the safety of the peaceable part of the community.

During the present century, London has made great advances. Within that period four bridges have been built, 'extensive docks have been excavated, gas has been introduced into every street and alley ; steam, on the river, the sea, and on railways, has given it an almost unlimited power of intercourse with every part of the kingdom and of the world ; new and handsome markets have been erected ; arcades lined with elegant shops have been formed ; and wide lines of communication have been opened through close and densely crowded neighbourhoods. Two new parks have been laid out ; an improved police has given additional security to person and property ; abundant supplies of water have been furnished to every separate dwelling ; and the formation of spacious cemeteries in the suburbs is leading to the disuse of interments within the town. At the same time the establishment of colleges and proprietary schools has increased the facilities (which are still, however, very deficient), for procuring good education ; the formation of savings' banks, by affording a safe and convenient place of deposit for the smallest savings, has tended to diffuse habits of economy among the lower classes ; while the institution of a National Gallery and School of Design has done something to improve the national taste, and to add to the intellectual pleasures of the people. The spirit of improvement, moreover, is still suggesting extensive and useful works. The nuisance of Smithfield market, notwithstanding the protection given to it by the Corporation, cannot fail of being abated ; and no doubt, also, provision will be made for having all sorts of animals slaughtered at some distance from the city. And these, with the improvement of the sewerage and buildings, and the opening of new lines of streets, will at once increase the health of the citizens and add to the convenience and beauty of the town.

*London has been the subject of an immense number of pub-*

lications. Of these the best by far is the Survey by Stow (originally published in 1598), with additions by Strype and others, 2 vols. folio, 1754. The account of the Metropolis and its environs by Brayley, Nightingale, and Brewer, 5 vols. 8vo., 1814-16, is, in some respects, a valuable work; but it contains a great deal of matter but slightly connected with the subject, and which might advantageously have been omitted. Cunningham's Handbook is a carefully compiled, amusing, and instructive manual of popular antiquities and street history. But, though there are several valuable works on detached topics, there is not, in point of fact, any good general account of modern London.



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THE END.

## RAILWAY MORALS & RAILWAY POLICY.



# RAILWAY MORALS & RAILWAY POLICY.

BY HERBERT SPENCER,

AUTHOR OF "SOCIAL STATICS," AND "THE PRINCIPLES OF PSYCHOLOGY."

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## RAILWAY MORALS AND RAILWAY POLICY.

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BELIEVERS in the intrinsic virtues of political forms, might draw an instructive lesson from the politics of our railways. If there needs a conclusive proof that the most carefully framed constitutions are worthless, unless they be embodiments of the popular character—if there needs a conclusive proof, that governmental arrangements in advance of the time will inevitably lapse back into congruity with the time; such proof may be found over and over again repeated in the current history of joint-stock enterprises. As devised by Act of Parliament, the administrations of our public companies are almost purely democratic. The representative system is carried out in them with scarcely a check. Shareholders elect their directors, directors their chairman; there is an annual retirement of a certain proportion of the board, giving facilities for superseding them; and, by this means, the whole ruling body may be changed in periods varying from three to five years. Yet, not only are the characteristic vices of our political state reproduced in each of these mercantile corporations—some even in an intenser degree—but the very form of government, whilst remaining nominally democratic, is substantially so remodelled as to become a miniature of our national constitution. The direction, ceasing to fulfil its theory as a deliberative body whose members possess like powers, falls under the control of some one member of superior cunning, will, or wealth, to whom

the majority become so subordinate, that the decision on every question depends on the course he takes. Proprietors, instead of constantly exercising their franchise, allow it to become on all ordinary occasions a dead letter : retiring directors are so habitually re-elected without opposition, and have so great a power of insuring their own re-election when opposed, that the board becomes practically a close body ; and it is only when the misgovernment grows extreme enough to produce a revolutionary agitation among the shareholders, that any change can be effected. Thus, a mixture of the monarchic, the aristocratic, and the democratic elements, is repeated with such modifications only as the circumstances involve. The modes of action, too, are substantially the same ; save in this, that the copy outruns the original. Threats of resignation, which ministries hold out in extreme cases, are commonly made by railway boards to stave off a disagreeable inquiry. By no means regarding themselves as servants of the shareholders, directors rebel against dictation from them ; and frequently construe any amendment to their proposals into a vote of want of confidence. At half-yearly meetings, disagreeable criticisms and objections are met by the chairman with the remark, that if the shareholders cannot trust his colleagues and himself, they had better choose others. With most this assumption of offended dignity tells ; and, under the fear that the company's interests may suffer from any disturbance, measures quite at variance with the wishes of the proprietary are allowed to be carried. The parallel holds yet further. If it be true of national administrations, that those in office count on the support of all public *employés* ; it is not less true of incorporated companies, that the directors are greatly aided by their officials in their struggles with shareholders. If, in times past, there have been ministries who spent public money to secure party ends ; there are, in times present, railway boards who use the funds of the shareholders to defeat the shareholders. Nay, even in detail, the similarity

is maintained. Like their prototype, joint-stock companies have their expensive election contests, managed by election committees, employing election agents; they have their canvassing with its sundry illegitimate accompaniments; they have their occasional manufacture of fraudulent votes. And, as a general result, that class-legislation, which, until of late, was habitually charged against statesmen, is now habitually displayed in the proceedings of these trading associations; constituted though they are on purely representative principles.

These last assertions will probably surprise not a few. The general public who have little or no direct interest in railway matters—who never see a railway journal, and who skip the reports of half-yearly meetings that appear in the daily papers—are under the impression that dishonesties akin to those gigantic ones so notorious during the mania, are no longer committed. They do not forget the doings of stags and stock-jobbers and runaway directors; they remember how men-of-straw held shares amounting to £100,000, and even £200,000; how numerous directorates were filled by the same persons—one having a seat at twenty-three boards; how subscription-contracts were made up with signatures bought at 10s. and 4s. each, and porters and errand-boys made themselves liable for £30,000 and £40,000 apiece. They can narrate how boards kept their books in cipher; made false registries, and refrained from recording their proceedings in minute books; how in one company, half a million of capital was down to unreal names; how in another, directors bought for account more shares than they issued, and so forced up the price; and how in many others, they repurchased for the company their own shares, paying themselves with the depositors' money. But, though more or less aware of the iniquities that have been practised, the generality think of them solely as the accompaniments of bubble schemes. More recent enterprises they know to have been *bonâ fide* ones, mostly carried out by old-established companies; and

knowing this, they do not suspect that in the getting-up of branch-lines and extensions, there are chicaneries near akin to those of Capel Court ; and quite as disastrous in their ultimate results. Associating the ideas of wealth and respectability, and habitually using respectability as synonymous with morality, it seems to them incredible, that many of the large capitalists and men of station who administer railway affairs, should be guilty of indirectly enriching themselves at the expense of their constituents. True, they occasionally meet with a law-report disclosing some enormous fraud ; or read a "Times" leader, characterising directorial acts in terms that are held libellous ; but they regard the cases thus brought to light as entirely exceptional ; and, under that feeling of loyalty which ever idealises men in authority, they constantly tend towards the conviction, if not that directors can do no wrong, yet that they are very unlikely to do wrong.

A history of railway management and railway intrigue, however, would quickly undeceive them. In such a history, the doings of projectors and the mysteries of the share-market would occupy less space than the analysis of the multiform dishonesties that have been committed since 1845, and the genesis of that elaborate system of tactics by which companies are betrayed into ruinous undertakings that benefit the few at the cost of the many. Such a history would not only have to detail the doings of the personage famed for "making things pleasant ;" nor would it have merely to add the misdeeds of his colleagues ; but it would have to describe the kindred corruptness of other railway administrations. From the published report of an investigation-committee, it would be shown how, not many years since, the directors of one of our lines allotted among themselves 15,000 new shares then at a premium in the market—how to pay the deposits on these shares they used the company's funds—how one of their number thus accommodated himself in meeting both deposits and calls to the extent of more than

£80,000. We should read in it of one railway chairman who, with the secretary's connivance, retained shares exceeding a quarter of a million in amount, intending to claim them as his allotment if they rose to a premium ; and who, as they did not do so, left them as unissued shares on the hands of the proprietors, to their vast loss. We should also read in it of directors who made loans to themselves out of the company's floating balances at a low rate of interest when the market rate was high ; and who paid themselves larger salaries than those assigned : entering the difference in an obscure corner of the ledger under the head of "petty disbursements." There would be a description of the manœuvres by which a delinquent board, under impending investigation, gets a favourable committee nominated—"a whitewashing committee." There would be documents showing that the proxies enabling boards to carry contested measures, have in some cases been obtained by garbled statements ; and, again, that proxies given for a specific purpose have been used for other purposes. One of our companies would be proved to have projected a line, serving as a feeder, for which it obtained shareholders by offering a guaranteed dividend, which, though understood by the public to be unconditional, was really contingent upon a condition not likely to be fulfilled. The managers of another company would be convicted of having carried party measures by the aid of preference shares standing in the names of station masters ; and of being aided by the proxies of the secretary's children too young to write.

That the corruptions here glanced at are not merely exceptional evils, but result from some deep-seated vice ramifying throughout our system of railway government, is sufficiently proved by the simple fact, that notwithstanding the depreciation of railway dividends produced by the extension policy, that policy has been year after year continued. Does any tradesman, who, having enlarged his shop, finds a proportionate diminution in his rate of profits, go on, even under the stimulus

of competition, making further enlargements at the cost of further diminutions? Does any merchant, however strong his desire to take away an opponent's markets, make successive mortgages on his capital, and pay for each sum thus raised a higher interest than he gains by trading with it? Yet this course, so absurd that no one would insult a private individual by asking him to follow it, is the course which railway boards, at meeting after meeting, persuade their clients to pursue. Since 1845, when the dividends of our leading lines ranged from 8 to 10 per cent., they have, notwithstanding an ever-growing traffic, fallen from 10 per cent. to 5, from 8 to 4, from 9 to  $3\frac{1}{4}$ ; and yet the system of extensions, leases, and guarantees, notoriously the cause of this, has been year by year persevered in. Is there not something needing explanation here—something more than the world is allowed to see? If there be any one to whom the broad fact of obstinate persistence in unprofitable expenditure does not alone carry the conviction that sinister influences are at work, let him read the seductive statements by which shareholders are led to authorize new projects, and then compare these with the proved results. Let him look at the estimated cost, anticipated traffic, and calculated dividend on some proposed branch line; let him observe how the proprietary before whom the scheme is laid, are induced to approve it as promising a fair return; and then let him contemplate, in the resulting depreciation of stock, the extent of their loss. Is there any avoiding the inference? Clearly, railway shareholders can never have habitually voted for new undertakings which they knew would be injurious to them. Every one knows, however, that these new undertakings have almost uniformly proved injurious to them. Obviously, therefore, railway shareholders have been continually deluded by false representations. The only possible escape from this conclusion is in the belief that boards and their officers have been themselves deceived; and were the discrepancies between promises and results occasional

only, there would be grounds for this lenient interpretation. But to suppose that a railway government should repeatedly make such mistakes, and yet gain no wisdom from disastrous experiences—should after a dozen disappointments again mislead half-yearly meetings by bright anticipations into dark realities, and all in good faith—taxes credulity somewhat too far. Even, then, were there no demonstrated iniquities to rouse suspicion, we think that the continuous depreciation in the value of railway stock, the determined perseverance of boards in the policy that has produced this depreciation, and the proved untruth of the statements by which they have induced shareholders to sanction this policy, would of themselves suffice to show the essential viciousness of railway administration.

That the existing evils, and the causes conspiring to produce them, may be better understood, it will be needful briefly to glance at the mode in which the system of extensions grew up. Earliest among the incentives to it was a feeling of rivalry. Even while yet their main lines were unmade, a contest for supremacy arose between our two greatest companies. This presently generated a confirmed antagonism; and the same impulse which in election contests and the like, has frequently led to the squandering of a fortune to gain a victory, has largely aided to make each of these great rivals submit to repeated sacrifices rather than be beaten. Feuds of like nature are in other cases perpetually prompting boards to make aggressions on each other's territories—every attack on the one side leading to a reprisal on the other: and so violent is the hostility occasionally produced, that directors might be pointed out whose votes are wholly determined by the desire to be revenged on their opponents. Among the first methods by which leading companies sought to strengthen themselves and weaken their competitors, was the leasing or purchase of subordinate neighbouring lines. Of course those to whom overtures were made, obtained bids from both sides; and it naturally resulted that



the first sales thus effected, being at prices far above the real values, brought great profits to the sellers. What resulted? After a few recurrences of this proceeding, it was clearly perceived by quick-witted speculators, that the making of lines so circumstanced as to be bid for by competing companies, would be a lucrative policy. Shareholders who had once pocketed these large and easily-made gains, were eager to repeat the process; and cast about for districts in which it might be done. Even the directors of the companies by whom these high prices were given, were under the temptation to aid in this; for it was manifest to them that by obtaining a larger interest in any such new undertaking than they possessed in the purchasing company, and by using their influence in the purchasing company to obtain a good price or guarantee for the new undertaking, a great advantage would be gained; and that this motive has been largely operative, railway history abundantly proves. Once commenced, sundry other influences conspired to stimulate this making of feeders and extensions. The non-closure of capital-accounts rendered possible the "cooking" of dividends, which was at one period carried to a great extent. Under various incentives, speculative and other, expenditure that should have been charged against revenue was charged against capital; works and rolling stock were allowed to go unrepaired, or insufficient additions made to them, by which means the current expenses were rendered delusively small; long-credit agreements with contractors permitted sundry disbursements that had been virtually made, to be kept out of the accounts; and thus the net returns were made to appear much greater than they really were. Naturally the new undertakings put before the monied world by companies whose stock and dividends had been thus artificially raised, were received with proportionate favour. Under the prestige of their parentage their shares came out at high premiums, bringing large profits to the projectors. The hint was soon taken; and it presently became an

established policy, under the auspices of a prosperity either real or mock, to get up these subsidiary lines — “calves,” as they were called in the slang of the initiated—and to traffic in the premiums their shares commanded. Meanwhile had been developing, a secondary set of influences which also contributed to foster unwise enterprises ; namely, the business interests of the lawyers, engineers, contractors, and others directly or indirectly employed in railway construction. The methods of projecting and carrying new schemes, could not fail, in the course of years, to become familiar to all persons concerned ; and there could not fail to grow up among them a concerted system of tactics calculated to achieve their common end. Thus, partly from the jealousy of rival boards, partly from the avarice of shareholders in purchased lines, partly from the dishonest schemings of directors, partly from the manœuvres of those whose business it is to carry out the projects legally authorized, partly, and perhaps mainly, from the delusive appearance of prosperity maintained by many established companies, there came the wild speculations of 1844 and 1845. The consequent disasters, whilst they pretty well destroyed the last of these incentives, left the rest much as they were. Though the painfully-undecieved public have ceased to aid as they once did ; the various private interests that had grown up have since been working together as before ; have developed their systems of co-operation into still more complex and subtle forms ; and are even now daily thrusting unfortunate shareholders into losing undertakings.

Before proceeding to analyze the existing state of things, however, we would have it clearly understood that we do not suppose those implicated to be *on the average* morally lower than the community at large. Men taken at random from any class, would, in all probability, behave much in the same way when placed in like positions. There are unquestionably directors grossly dishonest : unquestionably also there are others whose standard of honour is far higher than that of most

persons: and for the remainder, they are, we doubt not, as good as the mass. Of the engineers, parliamentary agents, lawyers, contractors, and various others concerned, it may be admitted that though daily custom has induced laxity of principle, yet they would be harshly judged were the transactions that may be recorded against them, used as measures. Those who do not see how, in these involved affairs, the most inequitable results may be wrought out by men not correspondingly flagitious, will readily do so on considering all the conditions. In the first place, there is the familiar fact that the corporate conscience is ever inferior to the individual conscience—that a body of men will commit as a joint act, that which every individual of them would shrink from did he feel personally responsible. And it may be remarked that not only is the conduct of a corporate body thus comparatively lax, but also the conduct *towards* one. There is ever a more or less distinct perception, that a broad-backed company scarcely feels what would be ruinous to a private person; and this perception is in constant operation on all railway administrators and their *employés*—on all contractors, landowners, and others concerned; leading them to show a graspingness and want of principle foreign to their general behaviour. Again, the indirectness and remoteness of the evils produced, greatly weaken the restraints on wrong doing. Men's actions are proximately produced by mental representations of the results to be anticipated; and the decisions come to, largely depend on the vividness with which these results can be imagined. A consequence, good or bad, that is immediate and clearly apprehended, influences conduct far more potently than a consequence that has to be traced through a long chain of causation, and as eventually reached, is not a particular and readily conceivable one, but a general and vaguely conceivable one. Hence, in railway affairs, a questionable share transaction, an exorbitant charge, a proceeding which brings great individual advantage without apparently injuring any one, but which, even

if analyzed in its ultimate results, can but very circuitously affect unknown persons living no one knows where, may be brought home to men who, could the results be embodied before them, would be shocked at the cruel injustices they had committed—men who in their private business, where the results *can* be thus embodied, are sufficiently equitable. Further, it requires to be noted that most of these great delinquencies are wrought out, not by the extreme dishonesty of any one man or group of men, but by the combined self-interest of many men and groups of men, whose minor delinquencies are cumulative. Much as a story which, passing from mouth to mouth, and receiving a slight exaggeration at each repetition, comes round to the original narrator in a form scarcely to be recognised; so, by a little improper influence on the part of landowners, a little favouritism on the part of members of Parliament, a little intriguing of lawyers, a little manœuvring by contractors and engineers, a little self-seeking on the part of directors, a little under-statement of estimates and over-statement of traffic, a little magnifying of the evils to be avoided and the benefits to be gained—it happens that shareholders are betrayed into ruinous undertakings by grossly untrue representations, without any one being guilty of more than a small portion of the fraud. Bearing in mind, then, the comparative laxity of the corporate conscience; the diffusion and remoteness of the evils which malpractices produce; and the composite origin of these malpractices; it becomes possible to understand how, in railway affairs, gigantic dishonesties can be perpetrated by men, who, on the average, are little if at all below the generality in moral character.

With this preliminary mitigation we proceed to detail the various illegitimate agencies by which these seemingly insane extensions and this continual squandering of shareholders' property are brought about.

Conspicuous amongst these is the self-interest of landowners.

Once the greatest obstacles to railway enterprise, owners of estates have of late years been amongst its chief promoters. Since the Liverpool and Manchester line was first defeated by landed opposition, and succeeded with its second bill only by keeping out of sight of all mansions, and avoiding the game preserves—since the time when the London and Birmingham Company, after seeing their project thrown out by a committee of peers who ignored the evidence, had to “conciliate” their antagonists by raising the estimate for land from £250,000 to £750,000—since the time when Parliamentary counsel bolstered up a groundless resistance by the flimsiest and absurdest excuses, even to reproaching engineers with having “trodden down the corn of widows” and “destroyed the strawberry-beds of gardeners”—since then, a marked change of policy has taken place. Nor was it in human nature that it should be otherwise. When it became known that railway companies commonly paid for “land and compensation,” sums varying from £4000 to £8000 per mile; that men were indemnified for supposed injury to their property, by sums so inordinate that the greater part has been known to be returned by the heir as conscience money; that in one case, £120,000 was given for land said to be worth but £5000—when it was bruited abroad that large bonuses in the shape of preference shares and the like, were granted to buy off opposition—when it came to be an established fact that estates are greatly enhanced in value by the proximity of railways—it is not surprising that country gentlemen should have become active supporters of schemes to which they were once the bitterest enemies. On considering the many temptations, we shall see nothing wonderful in the fact, that in 1845 they were zealous provisional committeemen; nor in the fact, that their influence as promoters enabled them to get good terms for their own acres; nor in the fact that they committed various acts sufficiently reprehensible from any but their own *point of view*. If we are told of squires soliciting interviews

with the engineer of a projected railway; prompting him to take their side of the country; promising support if he did, and threatening opposition if he did not; dictating the course to be followed through their domains; and hinting that a fair price would be expected; we are simply told of the special modes in which certain private interests show themselves. If we hear of an extensive landowner using his influence as chairman of a board of directors, to project a branch running for many miles through his own estate, and putting his company to the cost of a parliamentary contest to carry this line; we hear only of that which was likely to occur under such circumstances. If we find now before the public, a line proposed by a large capitalist, serving amongst other ends to effect desirable communications with his property; and the estimates for which line, though considered by the engineering world insufficient, are alleged by him to be ample; we have but a marked case of the distorted representations which under such conditions self-interest is sure to engender. If we discover of this or that scheme, that it was got up by the local nobility and gentry—that they employed to make the survey a third-rate engineer, who was ready, in anticipation of future benefit, to do this for his bare expenses—that principals and agent wearied the directors of an adjacent trunk line to take up their project; threatened that if they did not their great rival would; alarmed them into concession; asked for a contribution to their expenses; and would have gained all these points but for shareholders' resistance—we do but discover the organized tactics which in process of time naturally grow up under such stimuli. It is not that these facts are particularly remarkable. From the gross instance of the landowner who asked £8000 for that which he eventually accepted £80 for, down to the everyday instances of influence used to get railway accommodation for the neighbourhood, the acts of the landed class are simply manifestations of the average character acting under special conditions. All that it now

behoves us to notice, is, that we have here a large and powerful body whose interests are ever pressing on railway extension, irrespective of its intrinsic propriety.

The great change in the attitude of the Legislature towards railways, from "the extreme of determined rejection or dilatory acquiescence, to the opposite extreme of unlimited concession," was simultaneous with the change above described. It could not well fail to be so. Supplying, as the landowning community does, so large a portion of both Houses of Parliament, it necessarily follows that the play of private interests seen in the first, repeats itself in the last under modified forms, and complicated by other influences. Remembering the extent to which legislators were themselves involved in the speculations of the mania, it is scarcely probable that they should since have been free from personal bias. A return proved, that in 1845 there were 157 members of Parliament whose names were on the registers of new companies for sums varying from £291,000 downwards. The supporters of new projects boasted of the number of votes they could command in the House. Members were personally canvassed, and peers were solicited. It was publicly complained in the upper chamber, that "it was nearly impossible to bring together a jury, some members of which were not interested in the railway they were about to assess." Doubtless this state of things was in a great degree exceptional; and there has since been not only a diminution of the temptations, but a marked increase of equitable feeling. Still, it is not to be expected that private interests should cease to act. It is not to be expected that a landowner who, out of Parliament, exerts himself to get a railway for his district, should, when in Parliament, not employ the power his new position gives him to the same end. It is not to be expected that the accumulation of such individual actions should leave the legislative policy unchanged. Hence the fact, that the influence once used to throw out railway bills is now used to carry them. Hence the

fact, that railway committees no longer require a good traffic case to be made out in justification of the powers asked. Hence the fact, that the directors and chairmen of boards having seats in the House of Commons, are induced to pledge their companies to carry out extensions. We could name a member of Parliament, who, having bought an estate fitly situated, offered to an engineer, also in Parliament, the making of a railway running through it; and having obtained the Act (in doing which the influence of himself and his friend were of course useful), pitted three railway companies against each other for the purchase of it. We could name another member of Parliament, who, having projected, and obtained powers for, an extension through his property, induced the directors of the main line, with whom he had great influence, to subscribe half the capital for this extension, to work it for fifty per cent. of the gross receipts, and to give up all traffic brought by it on to the main line until he received four per cent. on his capital; which was tantamount to a four per cent. guarantee. But it is not only, nor indeed mainly, from directly personal motives that legislators have of late years unduly fostered railway enterprises. Indirect motives of various kinds have been largely operative. The wish to satisfy constituents has been one. Inhabitants of unaccommodated districts, are naturally urgent with their representatives to help them to a line. Such representatives are not unfrequently conscious that their next elections may possibly turn upon their successful response to this appeal. Even when there is no popular pressure there is the pressure of their leading political supporters; of large landholders, whom it will not do to neglect; of the magistracy, with whom it is needful to be on good terms; of local lawyers, important as electioneering friends, to whom a railway always brings business. Thus, without having any immediately private ends, members of Parliament are often almost coerced into pressing forward schemes which, from a national or from a shareholder's point of view, are very unwise ones. Then



there come the still less direct stimuli. Where neither personal nor political ends are to be gained, there are still the interests of a relative to be subserved; or, if not those of a relative, still those of a friend. And where there is no decided impulse to the contrary, these motives, of course, have their weight. Moreover, it requires in fairness to be said, that possessed as most members of Parliament are, with the belief that all railway-making is nationally beneficial, there exist in their minds few or no reasons for resisting the influences brought to bear on them. True, shareholders may be injured; but that is their own affair:—the public will be better served; constituents will be satisfied; friends will be pleased; perhaps personal ends gained; and under some or all of these incentives affirmative votes are readily given. Thus, from the Legislature also, there has of late years proceeded a factitious stimulus to railway extensions.

From Parliament to Parliamentary agents, and the general body of lawyers concerned in railway enterprise, is a ready transition. With these, the getting up and carrying of new lines and branches is a matter of business. Whoever studies the process of obtaining a railway act; or considers the number of legal transactions involved in the execution of railway works; or notes the large sums that figure in half-yearly reports under the head of "law charges;" will at once see how strong are the temptations which a new project holds out to solicitors, conveyancers, and counsel. It has been shown that in past years, Parliamentary expenses have varied from £650 to £3000 per mile; of which a large proportion has gone into the pockets of the profession. In one contest, £57,000 was spent amongst six counsel and twenty solicitors. At a late meeting of one of our companies, it was pointed out, that the sum expended in legal and parliamentary expenses during nine years, had reached £480,000; or had averaged £53,500 a-year. With these and scores of like facts before them, it would indeed be strange did not so acute a body of men as lawyers use vigorous efforts and

sagacious devices to promote fresh enterprises. Indeed, if we look back at the proceedings of 1845, we shall suspect, not only that lawyers are still the active promoters of fresh enterprises, but often the originators of them. Most people have heard how in those excited times the projects daily announced were very frequently set afloat by local solicitors—how these looked over maps to see where plausible lines could be sketched out—how they canvassed the local gentry to obtain provisional committeemen—how they agreed with engineers to make trial surveys—how, under the wild hopes of the day, they found little difficulty in forming companies—and how most of them managed to get as far as the Committee on Standing Orders, if no farther. Remembering all this, and remembering that those who were successful are not likely to have forgotten their cunning, but rather to have yearly exercised and increased it, we may naturally expect to find railway lawyers amongst the most influential of the many parties conspiring to urge railway proprietaries into disastrous undertakings: and we shall not be deceived. To a great extent they are in league with engineers. From the proposal to the completion of a new line, the lawyer and the engineer work together; and their interests are throughout identical. While the one makes the survey, the other prepares the book of reference. The parish plans which the one gets ready, the other deposits. The notices to owners and occupiers which the one fills in, the other serves upon those concerned. Throughout, there is continual consultation between them as to the dealing with local opposition and the obtainment of local support. In the getting up of their case for Parliament, they necessarily act in concert. Whilst, before committee, the one gets his ten guineas per day for attending to give evidence; the other makes profits on all the complicated transactions which the carrying a bill involves. During the execution of the works they are in frequent correspondence; and alike profit by any expansion of the undertaking. Thus there naturally arises in

each, the perception that in aiding the other he is aiding himself; and gradually, as, in course of years, the proceedings come to be often repeated, and a perfect familiarity with railway politics gained; there grows up a well-organized system of co-operation between them—a system rendered the more efficient by the wealth and influence which each has year by year accumulated.

Among the manoeuvres employed by railway solicitors thus established and thus helped, not the least remarkable is that of getting their own nominees elected as directors. Startling though it may seem, it is yet a fact, which we state on good authority, that there are puppet-directors who vote for this or that at the instigation of the company's lawyer, whose creatures they are. The obtainment of such tools is by no means difficult. Vacancies are about to occur in the directorate. Almost always there are sundry men over whom a solicitor, conducting the extensive law business of a railway, has considerable power: not only connexions and friends, but clients and persons to whom, in his legal capacity, he can do great benefit or great injury. He selects the most suitable of these; giving the preference, if other things are equal, to one living in the country near the line. On opening the matter to him, he points out the sundry advantages attendant on a director's position—the free pass and the many facilities it gives; the annual £100 or so which the office brings; the honour and influence accruing; the opportunities for profitable investment that are likely to occur; and so forth. Should ignorance of railway affairs be raised as an objection, the tempter, in whose eyes this ignorance is a chief recommendation, replies that he shall always be at hand to guide his votes. Should non-possession of a due amount of the company's stock be pleaded, the tempter readily meets the difficulty by offering himself to furnish the needful qualification. Thus incited and flattered, and perhaps conscious that it would be *dangerous to refuse*, the intended puppet allows himself to be

put in nomination; and as it is the general habit of half-yearly meetings, unless under great indignation, to elect any one proposed to them by those in authority, the nomination is successful. On subsequent occasions this proceeding can, of course, be repeated; and thus the company's legal agent and those leagued with him, may command sufficient votes to turn the scale in their own favour.

Then, to the personal interest and power of the head solicitor, have to be added those of the local ones, with whom he is in constant business intercourse. They, too, profit by new undertakings; they, therefore, are commonly urgent in pressing them forwards. Acting in co-operation with their chief, they form a local staff of great influence. They are active canvassers; they stimulate and concentrate the feeling of their districts; they encourage rivalry with other lines; they alarm local shareholders with rumours of threatened competition. When the question of extension or non-extension comes to a division, they collect proxies for the extension party. They bring pressure to bear on their shareholding clients and relatives. Nay, so deep an interest do they feel in the decision, as occasionally to manufacture votes with the view of influencing it. We have before us the case of a local solicitor, who, before the special meeting called to adopt or reject a contemplated branch, transferred portions of his own shares into the names of sundry members of his family, and so multiplied his seventeen votes into forty-one; all of which he recorded for the adoption of the new scheme.

The morality of railway engineers is not greatly above that of railway lawyers. The gossip of Great George Street is fertile in discreditable revelations. It tells how So-and-so, like others before him, testified to estimates which he well knew were insufficient. It makes jocose allusion to this man as being employed to do his senior's "dirty work"—his hard-swearing; and narrates of the other, that when giving evidence before committee, he was told by counsel that he was not to be believed.

even on his knees. It explains how cheaply the projector of a certain line executed the parliamentary survey, by employing on it part of the staff in the pay of another company to which he was engineer. Now it alludes to the suspicion attaching to a certain member of the fraternity from his having let a permanent-way contract, for a term of years, at an extravagant sum per mile. Again, it rumours the great profits which some of the leaders of the profession made in 1845, by charging for the use of their names at so much the prospectus, even up to a thousand guineas. And then, it enlarges upon the important advantages possessed by engineers who have seats in the House of Commons.

Thus lax as is the ethical code of engineers, and greatly as they are interested in railway enterprise, it is to be expected that they should be active, and not very scrupulous promoters of it. To illustrate the vigour and skill with which they further new undertakings, a few facts may be cited. Not far from London, and lying between two lines of railway, is an estate that has been purchased by one of our engineers. He has since obtained acts for branches to both of the adjacent lines. One of these branches he has leased to the company whose line it joins; and he has tried to do the like with the other, but as yet without success. Even as it is, however, he is considered to have doubled the value of his property. Again, an engineer of celebrity once very nearly succeeded in smuggling through parliament, in the bill for a proposed railway, a clause extending the limits of deviation, through a certain district, to several miles on each side of the line—the usual limits being but five chains on each side; and the attempt is accounted for by the fact, that this engineer possessed mines in this district. To press forward extensions by the companies with which they are connected, they occasionally go to great lengths. Not long since, at a half-yearly meeting, certain projects which the proprietary had already once rejected, were again brought forward by two engineers who attended in *their capacity* of shareholders. Though known to be personally

interested, one of them moved and the other seconded, that certain proposals from the promoters of these schemes be considered without delay by the directors. The motion was carried; the directors approved the proposals; and again, the proprietors negatived them. A third time a like effort was made; a third time a conflict arose; and within a few days of the special meeting at which the division was to take place, one of these engineers circulated amongst the shareholders a pamphlet, denying the allegations of the dissentient party, and making counter-statements which it was then too late to meet—nay, he did more; he employed agents to canvass the shareholders for proxies in support of the new undertaking; and was obliged to confess as much when charged with it at the meeting.

Turn we now to contractors. Railway enterprise has given to this class of men a gigantic development, not only in respect of numbers, but in respect of the vast wealth to which some of them have attained. Originally, half a dozen miles of earth-work, fencing, and bridges, was as much as any single contractor undertook. Of late years, however, it has become common for one man to engage to construct an entire railway; and deliver it over to the company in a fit condition for opening. Great capital is necessarily required for this: great profits are made by it: and the fortunes accumulated in course of time have been such, that sundry contractors are described as being each able to make a railway at his own cost. But they are as insatiate as millionnaires in general; and so long as they continue in business at all, are, in some sort, forced to provide new undertakings to keep their plant employed. As may be imagined, enormous stocks of working materials are needed; many hundreds of earth-waggons and of horses; many miles of temporary rails and sleepers; some half-dozen locomotive engines, and several fixed ones; innumerable tools; besides vast stores of timber, bricks, stone, rails, and other constituents of permanent works, that have been bought on speculation. To keep the

capital thus invested, and also a large staff of *employés*, standing idle, entails loss, partly negative partly positive. The great contractor, therefore, is alike under a pressing stimulus to get fresh work, and enabled by his wealth to do this. Hence the not unfrequent inversion of the old arrangement under which companies and engineers employed contractors, into an arrangement under which contractors employ engineers and form companies. Many recent undertakings have been thus set on foot. The most gigantic project which private enterprise has yet dared—a project of which, unfortunately, there is now no hope—originated with a distinguished contracting firm. In some cases, as in this chief one, this mode of procedure may be considered as advantageous; but in a far greater proportion of cases its results are disastrous. Interested in promoting railway extensions, even in a greater degree than engineers and lawyers, contractors frequently co-operate with these, either as agents or as coadjutors. Lines are fostered into being, which it is known from the very beginning, will not pay. Of late, it has become common for landowners, merchants, and others personally interested, who, under the belief that their indirect gains will compensate for their meagre dividends, have themselves raised part of the capital for a local railway, but who cannot raise the rest—it has become common for such to make an agreement with a wealthy contractor to construct the line, taking in part payment a portion of the shares, amounting to perhaps a third of the whole, and to charge for his work according to a schedule of prices to be thereafter settled between himself and the engineer. By this last clause the contractor renders himself secure. It would never answer his purpose to take part payment in shares likely to return some £2 per cent., unless he compensated himself by unusually high profits; and this subsequent settlement of prices with one whose interests, like his own, are wrapped up in the prosecution of the undertaking, ensures him high profits. Meanwhile, the facts that all the capital has been subscribed and

the line contracted for, unduly raise the public estimate of the scheme ; the shares are quoted at much above their true worth ; unwary persons buy ; the contractor from time to time parts with his moiety at fair prices ; and the new shareholders ultimately find themselves part owners of a railway which, unprofitable as it originally promised to be, has been made yet more unprofitable by expensiveness of construction. Nor are these the only cases in which contractors gain after this fashion. They do the like with undertakings of their own projection. To obtain acts for these, they sign the subscription-contracts for large amounts ; knowing that in the way above described, they can always make it answer to do this. So general had the practice latterly become, as to attract the attention of committees. As was remarked by a personage noted for his complicity in these transactions—"Committees are getting too knowing ; they won't stand that dodge now." Nevertheless, the thing is still done under a disguised form. Though contractors no longer enter their own names on subscription lists for thousands of shares ; yet they effect the same end by making nominal holders of their foremen and others ; themselves being the real ones.

Of directorial misdoings some samples have already been referred to ; and more might be added. Besides those arising from directly personal aims, there are sundry others. One of these is, the still increasing community between railway boards and the House of Commons. There are eighty-one directors sitting in Parliament ; and though many of these take little or no part in the affairs of their respective railways, many of them are the most active members of the boards to which they belong. We have but to look back a few years, and mark the unanimity with which companies adopted the policy of getting themselves represented in the Legislature, to see that the furtherance of their respective interests—especially in cases of competition—was the incentive. How well this policy is understood among the initiated, may be judged from the fact, that gentlemen are now



in some cases elected on boards, simply because they are members of Parliament. Of course this implies that railway legislation is affected by a complicated play of private influences ; and that these influences generally work towards the facilitation of new enterprises, is tolerably obvious. It naturally happens that directors whose companies are not opposed, exchange good offices. It naturally happens that they can more or less smooth the way of their annual batch of new bills through committees. Moreover, directors sitting in the House of Commons not only facilitate the passing of the schemes in which they are interested, but are solicited to undertake further schemes by those around them. It is a very common-sense conclusion, that representatives of small towns and country districts needing railway accommodation, who are daily thrown in contact with the chairman of a company capable of giving this accommodation, will not neglect the opportunity of furthering their ends. It is a very common-sense conclusion, that by hospitalities, by favours, by flattery, by the many means used to bias men, they will seek to obtain his good offices. And it is an equally common-sense conclusion, that in many cases they will succeed—that by some complication of persuasions and temptations they will swerve him from his calmer judgment ; and so introduce into the company he represents, influences at variance with its welfare.

Under some motives, however—whether those of direct self-interest, of private favour, or of antagonistic feeling, need not here be discussed—it is certain that directors are constantly committing their constituents to unwise enterprises ; and that they frequently employ unjustifiable means for either eluding or overcoming their opposition. Shareholders occasionally find that their directors have given to Parliament, pledges of extension much exceeding what they were authorized to give ; and they are then persuaded that they are bound to endorse the promises made for them by their agents. In some cases, among the *misleading statements* laid before shareholders to obtain their

consent to a new project, will be found an abstract of the earnings of a previously executed branch or feeder to which the proposed one bears some analogy. These earnings are shown (not always without "cooking") to be tolerably good and improving; and it is argued that the new project, having like prospects, offers a fair investment. Meanwhile, it is not stated that the capital for this previously executed branch or feeder, was raised on debentures or by guaranteed shares, at a higher rate of interest than the dividend pays; it is not stated that as the capital for this further undertaking will be raised on like terms, the annual interest on debt will swallow up more than the annual revenue: and thus unsuspecting shareholders—some unacquainted with the company's antecedents, some unable to understand its complicated accounts—give their proxies, or raise their hands, for new works which will tell with disastrous effect on their future dividends. In pursuit of their ends, directors will from time to time go directly in the teeth of established regulations. Where it has been made a rule that proxies shall be issued only by order of a meeting of the proprietors, they will yet issue them without any such order, when by so doing they can steal a march on dissentients. If it suits their purpose, they will occasionally bring forward most important measures without due notice. In stating the amount of the company's stock which has voted with them on a division, they have been known to include thousands of shares on which a small sum only was paid up, counting them as though fully paid up.

To complete the sketch, it requires to say something on the management of board meetings and meetings of the shareholders. For the first—their decisions are affected by various manoeuvres. Of course, on the fit occasions, there is a whipping-up of those favourable to any project which it is desired to carry. Were this all, there would be little to complain of; but something more than this is done. There are boards in which it is the practice to defeat opposition by stratagem. The extension party

having summoned their forces for the occasion, and having entered on the minutes of business a notice worded with the requisite vagueness, shape their proceedings according to the character of the meeting. Should their antagonists muster more strongly than was expected, this vaguely-worded notice serves simply to introduce some general statement or further information concerning the project named in it; and the matter is passed over as though nothing more had been meant. On the contrary, should the proportion of the two sides be more favourable, the notice becomes the basis of a definite motion committing the board to some important procedure. If due precautions have been taken, the motion is passed; and once passed, those who, if present, would have resisted it, have no remedy; for in railway government there is no "second reading," much less a third. So determined and so unscrupulous are the efforts sometimes made by the stronger party to overcome and silence their antagonists, that when a contested measure, carried by them at the board, has to go before a general meeting for confirmation, they have even been known to pass a resolution that their dissentient colleagues shall not address the proprietary!

How, at half-yearly and special meetings, shareholders should be so readily led by boards, even after repeated experience of their untrustworthiness, seems at first sight difficult to understand. The mystery disappears, however, on inquiry. Very frequently, contested measures are carried quite against the sense of the meetings before which they are laid, by means of the large number of proxies previously collected by the directors. These proxies are obtained mostly from proprietors scattered every where throughout the kingdom, who are very generally weak enough to sign the first document sent to them. Then, of those present when the question is brought to an issue, not many dare attempt a speech; of those who dare, but few are clear-headed enough to see the full bearings of the measure they are *about to vote* upon; and such as can see it are often prevented

by nervousness from doing justice to the views they hold. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the party displaying antagonism to the board are apt to be regarded by their brother proprietors with more or less reprobation. Unless the misconduct of the governing body has been very glaring and very recent, there ever arises in the mass, a prejudice against all playing the part of an opposition. They are condemned as noisy, and factious, and obstructive; and often only by very determined courage avoid being put down. Besides these negative reasons for the general inefficiency of shareholders' resistance, there are sundry positive ones. As writes a Member of Parliament who has been an extensive holder of stock in many Companies from the first days of railway enterprise:—"My large and long acquaintance with Railway Companies' affairs enables me to say, that a large majority of shareholders trust wholly to their directors, having little or no information, nor caring to have any opinion of their own: . . . some others, better informed but timid, are afraid, by opposing the directors, of causing a depreciation of the value of their stock in the market, and are more alarmed at the prospect of this temporary depreciation than at the permanent loss entailed on the company by the useless, and therefore unprofitable, outlay of additional capital: . . . others again, believing that the impending permanent evil is inevitable, resolve on the spot to sell out immediately, and to keep up the prices of their shares, also give their support to the directors." Thus, from the lack of organization and efficiency among those who express their opposition, and from the timidity and double-facedness of those who do not, it happens that extremely unwise projects are carried by large majorities. Nor is this all. The tactics of the aggressive party are commonly as skilful as those of their antagonists are bungling. In the first place, the chairman, who is very generally the chief promoter of the contested scheme, has it in his power to favour those who take his own side, and to throw difficulties in the way of opponents; and this he not ~~un~~

frequently does to a great extent—refusing to hear, putting down on some plea of breach of order, browbeating, even using threats.\* It generally turns out too, that whether intentionally or not, some of the most important motions are postponed until nearly the close of the meeting, when the greater portion of the shareholders are gone. Large money-votes, extensive powers, unlimited permits to directors to take, in certain matters, “such steps as in their judgment they may deem most expedient,”—these, and the like, are left to be hurried over during the last half-hour, when the tired and impatient remnant will no longer listen to objectors; and when those who have personal ends to serve by outstaying the rest, carry every thing their own way. Indeed, in some instances, the arrangements are such as almost to ensure the meeting becoming a pro-extension one towards the end. The result is brought about thus :—A certain portion of the general body of proprietors are also proprietors of some subordinate work—some branch line, or steam-boats, or canal, which the Company has purchased or leased; and as holders of guaranteed stock, probably having capital to take up further such stock if they can get it, they are naturally favourable to projects that are to be executed on the preference-share system. These hold their meeting for the declaration of dividend, &c., as soon as the meeting of the Company at large has been dissolved; and in the same room. Hence it happens, that being kept together by the prospect of subsequent business, they gradually, towards the close of the general meeting, come to form the majority of those present; and the few ordinary shareholders who

\* We may remark in passing, that the practice of making the chairman of the board also chairman of the half-yearly meetings, is a very injudicious one. The directors are the servants of the proprietary; and meet them from time to time to render an account of their stewardship. That the chief of these servants, whose proceedings are about to be examined, should himself act as chief of the jury is absurd. Obviously, the business of each meeting should be conducted by some one independently chosen for the purpose; as the Speaker is chosen by the House of Commons.

have been patient enough to stay, are outvoted by those having interests quite distinct from their own—quite at variance with the welfare of the Company.

And here this allusion to the preference-share system, introduces us to a fact which may fitly close this detail of private interests and questionable practices—a fact serving at once to illustrate the subtlety and concert of railway officialism, and the power it can exert. That this fact may be fully appreciated, it must be premised, that though preference-shares do not usually carry votes, they are sometimes specially endowed with them ; and further, that they occasionally remain unpaid up until the expiration of a time after which no further calls can be legally made. In the case in question, a large number of £50 preference-shares had thus long stood with but £5 paid. Those desirous of promoting extensions, &c., had here a fine opportunity of getting great power in the Company at small cost ; and as we shall see, they duly availed themselves of it. Already had their party twice tried to thrust the proprietary into a new undertaking of great magnitude. Twice had they entailed on them an expensive and harassing contest. A third time, notwithstanding a professed relinquishment of it, they brought forward substantially the same scheme, and were defeated only by a small majority. The following extracts from the division lists we take from the statement of one of the scrutineers.—See *Table*, p. 30.

To this list, some seven or eight of the Company's tradesmen, similarly armed, might be added ; raising the amount of the almost factitious shares held by functionaries to about 5200, and increasing the number of votes commanded by them, from its present total of 1068 to upwards of 1100. If now we separate the £380,000, which these gentlemen bring to bear against their brother shareholders, into real and nominal ; we find that whilst not quite £120,000 of it is *bond fide* property invested, the remaining £260,000 is nine parts shadow and one part substance. And thus it results, that by virtue of certain

	50L Preference Shares with 5L paid up.	Additional Stock or Shares.	Recorded Stock at the Pool as held.	Total actual Capital paid up.	Number of Votes secured for the Extension.
The Company's solicitor -	500	{ 7,500L stock, and 100 50L shares, with 42L 10s. paid up.	75,680	18,140	188
Ditto in joint account with another -	778		None		
The solicitor's partner -	60		3,000	300	20
The Company's engineer -	150	None.	7,500	750	33
The engineer's partner -	1,354	4,266L stock.	71,966	11,036	161
One of the Company's parliamentary counsel -	200	1,000L stock.	11,000	2,000	40
Another ditto, ditto -	125	200L stock.	6,450	825	30
Local solicitor for the proposed extension -	7	None.	350	35	7
The Company's contractor for permanent-way -	347	£2,833L	70,183	54,568	158
The Company's conveyancer -	1,008	333L stock.	50,483	5,348	118
The Company's furniture printer -	35	10,000L stock.	11,750	10,175	41
The Company's surveyor -	260	1,350L stock.	19,250	2,050	58
The Company's architect -	217	14,916L stock; 119 50L shares, with 42L 10s. paid up; and 18 40L shares, with 34L paid up.	32,230	20,416	83
One of the Company's carriers -	17	833L stock.	1,683	918	14
The Company's bankers:--					
One partner -	.. ..	.. ..	33,466	32,366	90
Another partner -	.. ..	.. ..	2,500	2,500	18
Ditto in joint account with another -	.. ..	.. ..	1,000	850	12

stock actually representing but £26,000, these lawyers, engineers, counsel, conveyancers, contractors, bankers, and others interested in the promotion of new schemes, outweigh more than a quarter of a million of the real capital held by shareholders whom these schemes will injure!

Need we any longer wonder, then, at the persistence of Railway Companies in seemingly reckless competition and ruinous extensions? Is not this obstinate continuance of a policy that has year after year proved disastrous, sufficiently explicable on contemplating the many illegitimate influences at work? Is it not manifest that the small organized party

always out-manceuvres the large unorganized one? Consider their respective characters and circumstances. Here are the shareholders diffused throughout the whole kingdom, in towns and country houses; knowing nothing of each other, and too remote to co-operate were they acquainted. Very few of them see a railway journal; not many a daily one; and scarcely any know much of railway politics. Necessarily a fluctuating body, only a small number are familiar with the Company's history—its acts, engagements, policy, management. A great proportion are incompetent to judge of the questions that come before them, and lack decision to act out such judgments as they may form—executors who do not like to take steps involving much responsibility; trustees fearful of interfering with the property under their care, lest possible loss should entail a lawsuit; widows who have never in their lives acted for themselves in any affair of moment; maiden ladies, alike nervous and innocent of all business knowledge; clergymen whose daily discipline has been little calculated to make them acute men of the world; retired tradesmen whose retail transactions have given them small ability for grasping large considerations; servants possessed of accumulated savings and cramped notions; with sundry others of like helpless character—all of them rendered more or less conservative by ignorance or timidity, and proportionately inclined to support those in authority. To these should be added the class of temporary shareholders, who, having bought stock on speculation, and knowing that a revolution in the Company is likely to depress prices for a time, have an interest in supporting the board irrespective of the goodness of its policy. Turn now to those whose efforts are directed to railway expansion. Consider the constant pressure of local interests—of small towns, of rural districts, of landowners—all of them eager for branch accommodation; all of them with great and definite advantages in view; few of them conscious of the loss those advantages may entail on others. Remember the



influence of legislators, prompted, some by their constituents, some by personal aims, and encouraged, most of them, by the belief that additional railway facilities are in every case nationally beneficial ; and then calculate the extent to which, as stated to Mr. Cardwell's committee, Parliament has "excited and urged forward" Companies into rivalry. Observe the temptations under which lawyers are placed—the vast profits accruing to them from every railway contest, whether ending in success or failure ; and then imagine the magnitude and subtlety of their extension manœuvring. Conceive the urgency of the engineering profession, to the richer of whom more railway-making means more wealth ; to the mass of whom more railway-making means daily bread. Estimate the capitalist-power of contractors, whose unemployed plant brings heavy loss ; whose plant when employed brings great gain. Then recollect that to these last—lawyers, engineers, and contractors—the getting up and executing of new undertakings is a business—a business to which every energy is directed ; in which long years of practice have given great skill ; and to the facilitation of which, all means tolerated by men of the world are thought justifiable. Finally, consider that the classes interested in carrying out new schemes, are in constant communication ; and have every facility for combined action. A great part of them live in London, and most of these have offices at Westminster—in Great George Street, in Parliament Street, clustering round the Legislature. Not only are they thus concentrated, not only are they throughout the year in frequent business intercourse ; but during the session they are daily together, in Palace Yard hotels, in the lobbies, in the committee-rooms, in the House of Commons itself. Is it any wonder then, that the wide-spread, ill-informed, unorganised body of shareholders, standing severally alone, and each pre-occupied with his daily affairs, should be continually out-generalled by the comparatively small but active, skilful,

combined body opposed to them, whose very occupation is at stake in gaining the victory?

"But how about the directors?" it will perhaps be asked. "How can they be parties to these obviously unwise undertakings? They are themselves shareholders: they gain by what benefits the proprietary at large; they lose by what injures it. And if without their consent, or rather their agency, no new scheme can be adopted by the Company, the classes interested in fostering railway enterprise are powerless to do harm."

This belief in the identity of directorial and proprietary interests, is the fatal error commonly made by shareholders. It is this which, in spite of many bitter experiences, leads them to be so careless and so trustful. "Their profit is our profit; their loss is our loss; they know more than we do; therefore let us leave the matter to them." Such is the argument which more or less definitely passes through the shareholding mind—an argument of which the premises are vicious, and the inference disastrous. Let us consider it in detail.

Not to dwell upon the many disclosures that have in years past been made respecting the share-trafficking of boards, and the large profits realized by it—disclosures which alone suffice to disprove the assumed identity between the interests of directors and proprietary—and taking for granted that little, if any, of this now takes place; let us go on to notice the still-prevailing influences which render this apparent unity of purpose deceptive. The immediate interest which directors have in the prosperity of the Company, is often much less than is supposed. Occasionally they possess only the bare qualification of £1000 worth of stock. In some instances even this is partly nominal. Admitting, however, as we do frankly, that in the great majority of cases the full qualification, and much more than the qualification, is held; yet it must be borne in mind that the indirect advantages which a wealthy member of a board may gain from

the prosecution of a new undertaking, will often far outweigh the direct injury it will inflict on him by the depreciation of his shares. A board usually consists, to a considerable extent, of gentlemen residing at different points throughout the tract of country traversed by the railway they control : some of them landowners ; some merchants or manufacturers ; some owners of mines or shipping. Almost always these are advantaged more or less by a new branch or feeder. Those in close proximity to it, often gain great benefits either by enhanced value of land, or by increased facilities of transit for their commodities. Those at more remote parts of the main line, though less directly interested, are still frequently interested in some degree : for every extension opens up new markets either for produce or raw materials ; and if it is one effecting a junction with some other system of railways, the greater mercantile conveniences afforded to directors thus circumstanced, become important. Obviously, therefore, the indirect profits accruing to such from the prosecution of one of these new undertakings, may more than counterbalance the direct loss upon their railway investments ; and though there are, doubtless, men far too honourable to let such considerations sway them, yet the generality can scarcely fail to be affected by temptations so strong. Then we have further to bear in mind the influences brought to bear upon directors having seats in Parliament. Already these have been noticed ; and we recur to them only for the purpose of pointing out that here, too, the immediate evil of an increased discount on his £1000 worth of stock, may be to a director of much less consequence than the favours, patronage, influence, connections, position, which his aid in the carrying of a new scheme will bring him—a consideration which, without saying how far it applies, suffices to show that in this respect, also, the supposed identity of interests between directors and shareholders does not hold.

*But, greatly as this supposed identity is weakened by the*

influences assigned, the disunion of interests they produce is further increased by the system of preference-stock. Were there no other cause in action, this practice of raising capital for supplementary undertakings, by the issue of shares bearing a guaranteed interest of 5, 6, and 7 per cent., would alone suffice to destroy that community of motives which is supposed to exist between a railway proprietary and its executive. Little as the fact is at present recognised, it is yet readily demonstrable that by raising one of these mortgages, a Company is forthwith divided into two classes: consisting, the one of the richer shareholders, inclusive of the directors, and the other of the poorer shareholders; of which classes the richer one can protect itself from the losses which the poorer one has to bear—nay, can even profit by the losses of the poorer one. This assertion, startling as it will be to many, we will proceed to prove.


When the capital required for the execution of a branch or extension is raised by means of guaranteed shares, it is the custom to offer to each proprietor, the privilege of taking up a number of such shares proportionate to the number of his original shares. It is manifest that by availing himself of this offer, he more or less effectually protects himself against any possible loss which the new undertaking may entail. Should this, not fulfilling the promises of its advocates, diminish in some degree the general dividend; yet, a high dividend on the due proportion of preference-stock, may nearly or quite compensate for this. Hence, it becomes the policy of all who can do so, to take up as many guaranteed shares as they can get. But what happens when the circular announcing this apportionment of guaranteed shares is sent round to the proprietary? Those who possess much stock, being generally capitalists, forthwith apply for as many as they are entitled to. On the other hand, the smaller holders, constituting as they do the bulk of the Company, having no available funds with which to pay

the calls on new shares, are obliged to decline them. What results? When this additional line has been opened, and it turns out, as usual, that its revenue is insufficient to meet the guaranteed dividend on its shares—when the general income of the Company is laid under contribution to make up this guaranteed dividend—when, as a consequence, the dividend on the original stock is diminished; then the poorer shareholders who possess original stock only, find themselves losers; whilst the richer ones, possessing guaranteed shares in addition, find that their gain on preference dividends nearly or quite counterbalances their loss on general dividends. Indeed, as above hinted, the case is even worse. For as there is nothing requiring the large share-proprietor who has obtained his proportion of guaranteed stock, to retain his original stock—as, if he doubts the paying character of the new undertaking, there is no reason why he should not gradually dispose of such part of his investment as will suffer from it; it is obvious that he may, if he pleases, become the possessor of preference shares only; and may so obtain a handsome return for his money at the expense of the Company at large and the small shareholders in particular. To what extent this policy is pursued we do not pretend to say. All which it here concerns us to notice, is, that directors being almost always men of large means, and being therefore able to avail themselves of this guaranteed stock, by which at least much loss may be warded off, if not profit made, are liable to be swayed by motives different from those of the general proprietary. And that they often are so swayed there cannot be a doubt. Without assuming that any of them will be guilty of so flagitious an intention as that of benefiting at the cost of their co-proprietors; and believing, as we do, that few of them duly realize the fact that the protection they will have, is a protection not available to the mass of the shareholders; we think it is a rational induction from common experience, that this prospect of compensation will often

turn the scale in the minds of those who are hesitating, and diminish the opposition on the part of those who disapprove.

Thus, the belief which leads the majority of railway shareholders to place implicit faith in their directors, is an erroneous one. It is not true that there is an identity of interest between the proprietary and its executive. It is not true that the board forms an efficient guard against the intrigues of lawyers, engineers, contractors, and others who profit by railway making. On the contrary, it is true that its members are not only liable to be drawn from their line of duty by various indirect motives, but that by the system of guaranteed shares they are placed under a positive temptation to betray their constituents.

And now what is the proximate origin of all these corruptions? and what is the remedy for them? What general error in railway legislation is it that has made possible such complicated chicaneries? Whence arises this facility with which interested persons continually thrust companies into unwise enterprises? We believe there is a very simple answer to these questions. It is an answer, however, which will at first sight be thought quite irrelevant: and we doubt not that the corollary we propose drawing from it, will be forthwith condemned by practical men as incapable of being acted on. Nevertheless, if such will give us a little time to explain, we are not without hopes of showing, both that the evils laboured under would be excluded were this principle recognised, and that the recognition of it is not only feasible, but would even open the way out of some of the perplexities in which railway legislation is at present involved.

We conceive, then, that the fundamental vice of our system, as hitherto carried out, lies in *the misinterpretation of the proprietary contract*—the contract tacitly entered into between each shareholder and the body of shareholders with whom he unites; and that the remedy desired lies simply in the enforcement of an equitable interpretation of this contract. 

reality it is a strictly limited one : in practice it is treated as altogether unlimited : and the thing needed is, that it should be clearly defined and abided by.

Our popular form of government has so habituated us to seeing public questions decided by the voice of the majority, and the system is so manifestly equitable in the cases daily before us, that there has been produced in the general mind, an unhesitating belief that the majority's power is unbounded. Under whatever circumstances, or for whatever ends, a number of men co-operate, it is held that whenever difference of opinion arises among them, justice requires that the will of the greater number shall be executed rather than that of the smaller number ; and this rule is supposed to be uniformly applicable, be the question at issue what it may. So confirmed is this conviction, and so little have the ethics of the matter been considered, that to most this mere suggestion of a doubt will cause some astonishment. Yet it needs but a brief analysis to show that the opinion is little better than a political superstition. Instances may readily be selected, serving at once to prove, by *reductio ad absurdum*, that the right of a majority is a purely conditional right, valid only within specific limits. Let us take a few. Suppose that at the general meeting of some philanthropic association, it was resolved that in addition to relieving distress the association should employ home-missionaries to preach down popery. Might the subscriptions of Catholics, who had joined the body with charitable views, be rightfully used for this end ? Suppose that of the members of a book-club, the greater number, thinking that under existing circumstances rifle-practice was more important than reading, should decide to change the purpose of their union, and to apply the funds in hand for the purchase of powder, ball, and targets. Would the rest be bound to abide by this decision ? Suppose that under the excitement of news from Australia, the majority of a Freehold Land Society should determine, not simply to start in a body for the gold

diggings, but to use their accumulated capital to provide outfits. Would this appropriation of property be just to the minority? And must these join the expedition? Scarcely any one would venture an affirmative answer even to the first of these questions; much less to the others. And why? Because all must more or less clearly perceive that by uniting himself with others, no man can equitably be betrayed into acts utterly foreign to the purpose for which he joined them. Each of these supposed minorities would properly reply to those seeking to coerce them:—"We combined with you for a defined object; we gave money and time for the furtherance of that object; on all questions thence arising, we tacitly agreed to conform to the will of the greater number; but we did not agree to conform on any other questions. If you induce us to join you by professing a certain end, and then undertake some other end of which we were not apprised, you obtain our support under false pretences; you exceed the expressed or understood compact to which we committed ourselves; and we are no longer bound by your decisions." Clearly this is the only rational interpretation of the matter. The general principle underlying the right government of every incorporated body, is, that its members contract with each other severally to submit to the will of the majority *in all matters concerning the fulfilment of the objects for which they were incorporated; but in no others*. To this extent only can the contract hold. For as it is implied in the very nature of a contract, that those entering into it must know what they contract to do; and as those who unite with others for a specified object, cannot contemplate all the unspecified objects which it is hypothetically possible for the union to undertake; it follows that the contract entered into cannot extend to such unspecified objects: and if there exists no expressed or understood contract between the union and its members respecting unspecified objects, then for the majority to coerce the minority into undertaking them, is nothing less than gross tyranny.



Now this almost self-evident principle is wholly ignored alike in our railway legislation and the proceedings of our companies. Definite as is the purpose with which the promoters of a public enterprise combine, endless other purposes not dreamed of at the outset are commonly added to it ; and this, apparently without any suspicion that such a course is altogether unwarrantable, unless taken with the *unanimous* consent of the proprietors. The unsuspecting shareholder who signed the subscription contract for a line from Greatborough to Grandport, did so under the belief that it would not only be a public benefit but a good investment. He was familiar with the country : he had been at some trouble to estimate the traffic : and, fully believing that he knew what he was embarking in, he put down his name for a large amount. The line has been made : a few years of prosperity have justified his foresight : when, at some fatal special meeting, a project is put before him for a branch from Littlehomestead to Stonyfield. The will of the board and the intrigues of the interested, overbear all opposition ; and in spite of the protests of many who like him see its impolicy, he presently finds himself involved in an undertaking which, when he joined the promoters of the original line, he had not the remotest conception would ever be proposed. From year to year this proceeding is repeated ; his dividends dwindle and his shares go down ; and eventually the congeries of enterprises to which he is committed, grows so vast that the first enterprise of the series becomes but a small fraction of the whole. Yet it is in virtue of his consent to this first of the series, that all the rest are thrust upon him. He feels that there is an injustice somewhere ; but, believing in the unlimited right of a majority, fails to detect it. He does not see that when the first of these extensions was proposed, he should have denied the power of his brother-shareholders to implicate him in an undertaking not contemplated in their deed of incorporation. He should have *told the advocates* of such undertaking that they were perfectly

free to form a separate Company for the execution of it ; but that they could not rightfully compel dissentients to join in a new project, any more than they could rightfully have compelled dissentients to join in the original project. Had such a shareholder united with others for the specified general purpose of *making railways*, he would have had no ground for protest. But he united with others for the specified purpose of *making a particular railway*. Yet such is the confusion of ideas on the subject, that there is absolutely no difference recognised between these cases !

It will doubtless be alleged in defence of all this, that these secondary enterprises are in reality supplementary to the original one—are in some sense undertaken for the furtherance of it ; professedly minister to its prosperity ; cannot, therefore, be regarded as altogether separate enterprises. And it is true that they have this for their excuse. But if it is a sufficient excuse for accessories of this nature, it may be made a sufficient excuse for any accessories whatever. Already, Companies have carried the practice beyond the making of branches and extensions. Already, under the plea of bringing more traffic to their lines, they have constructed docks ; bought lines of steam-packets ; built vast hotels ; deepened river-channels. Already, they have created small towns for their workmen ; erected churches and schools ; salaried clergymen and teachers. Are these warranted on the ground of advancing the Companies' interests ? Then thousands of other undertakings are similarly warranted. If a view to the development of traffic, justifies the making of a branch to some neighbouring coal-mines ; then, should the coal-mines be inefficiently worked, the same view would justify the purchase of them—would justify the Company in becoming coal-miners and coal-sellers. If anticipated increase of goods and passengers is a sufficient reason for carrying a feeder into an agricultural district ; then, it is a sufficient reason for organizing a system of coaches and waggons to run in connexion with this

feeder ; for making the requisite horse-breeding establishments ; for hiring the needful farms ; for buying estates ; for becoming agriculturists. If it be allowable to purchase steamers plying in conjunction with the railway ; it must be allowable to purchase merchant vessels to trade in conjunction with it ; it must be allowable to set up a yard for building such vessels ; it must be allowable to erect depôts at foreign ports for the receipt of goods ; it must be allowable to employ commission agents for the collection of such goods ; it must be allowable to extend a mercantile organization all over the world. From making its own engines and carriages, a Company may readily progress to manufacturing its own iron and growing its own timber. From giving its *employés* secular and religious instruction, and providing houses for them ; it may go on to supply them with food, clothing, medical attendance, and all the needs of life. From being simply a corporation to make and work a railway between A. and B. ; it may become a miner, manufacturer, merchant, shipowner, canal-proprietor, hotel-keeper, landowner, house builder, farmer, retail-trader, priest, teacher—an organisation of indefinite extent and complication. There is no logical alternative between permitting this, and strictly limiting the corporation to the object first agreed upon. A man joining with others for a specific purpose, must be held to commit himself to that purpose only ; or else to all purposes whatever that they may choose to undertake.

But proprietors dissenting from one of these supplementary projects are told that they have the option of selling out. So might the dissentients from a new State-enforced creed be told, that if they did not like it they might leave the country. The one reply is little more satisfactory than the other would be. The opposing shareholder sees himself in possession of a good investment—one perhaps which, as an original subscriber, he ran some risk in obtaining. This investment is now about to be *endangered* by an act not named in the deed of incorporation. And

his protests are met by saying, that if he fears the danger he may part with his investment. Surely this choice between two evils scarcely meets his claims. Moreover, he has not even this in any fair sense. It is often an unfavourable time to sell. The very rumour of one of these extensions frequently causes a depreciation of stock. And if many of the minority throw their shares on the market, this depreciation is greatly increased; a fact which further hinders them from selling. Thus, the choice is in reality between parting with a good investment at much less than its value; and running the risk of having its value greatly diminished.

The injustice inflicted upon minorities in the prosecution of this extension policy, is, indeed, already recognised in a certain vague way. The recently established Standing Order of the House of Lords, that before a Company can carry out any new undertaking, three-fourths of the votes of the proprietors shall be recorded in its favour, clearly implies a perception that the usual rule of the majority does not apply. And again, in the case of The Great Western Railway Company *versus* Rushout, the decision that the funds of the Company could not be used for purposes not originally authorized, without a special legislative permit, involves the doctrine that the will of the greater number is not of unlimited validity. In both these cases, however, it is taken for granted that a State-warrant can justify what without it would be unjustifiable. We must take leave to question this. If it be held that an Act of Parliament can make murder proper, or can give rectitude to robbery; it may be consistently held that it can sanctify a breach of contract; but not otherwise. We are not about to enter upon the vexed question of the standard of right and wrong; and to inquire whether it is the function of a Government to make rules of conduct, or simply to enforce rules deducible from the laws of social life. We are content, for the occasion, to adopt the expediency-hypothesis; and adopting it, must yet contend, that,

rightly interpreted, it gives no countenance to this supposed power of a Government to alter the limits of an equitable contract against the wishes of some of the contracting parties. For, as understood by its teachers and their chief disciples, the doctrine of expediency is not a doctrine implying that each particular act is to be determined by the particular consequences that may be expected to flow from it ; but that the general consequences of entire classes of acts having been ascertained by induction from experience, rules shall be framed for the regulation of such classes of acts, and each rule shall be uniformly applied to every act coming under it. Our whole administration of justice proceeds on this principle of invariably enforcing an ordained course, regardless of special results. Were immediate consequences to be considered, the verdict gained by the rich creditor against the poor debtor would generally be reversed ; for the starvation of the last is a much greater evil than the inconvenience of the first. Most thefts arising from distress would go unpunished ; a great portion of men's wills would be cancelled ; many of the wealthy would be dispossessed of their fortunes. But it is clearly seen, that were judges thus guided by proximate evils and benefits, the ultimate result would be social confusion ; that what was immediately expedient would be ultimately inexpedient ; and hence the aim at rigorous uniformity, spite of incidental hardships. Now, the binding nature of agreements is one of the commonest and most important principles of civil law. A large part of the causes daily heard in our courts, involve the question, whether in virtue of some expressed or understood contract, those concerned are, or are not, bound to certain acts or certain payments. And when it has been decided what the contract implies, the matter is settled. The contract itself is held sacred. And this sacredness of a contract, being, according to the expediency-hypothesis, justified by the experience of all nations in all times that it is generally *beneficial*, it is *not* competent for a Legislature to declare that

contracts are violable. Assuming always that the contracts are themselves equitable, there is no rational system of ethics which warrants the alteration or dissolving of them, save by the consent of all concerned. If then it be shown, as we think it has been shown, that the contract tacitly entered into by railway shareholders with each other, has definite limits; it is the function of the Government to *enforce*, and not to *abolish*, those limits. It cannot decline to enforce them without running counter, not only to all theories of moral obligation, but to its own judicial system. It cannot abolish them without glaring self-stultification.

Returning, for a moment, to the manifold evils of which the misinterpretation of the proprietary contract was assigned as the cause; it only remains to point out that, were the just construction of this contract insisted upon, such evils would, in great part, be impossible. The various illicit influences by which Companies are daily betrayed into disastrous extensions, would necessarily be inoperative when such extensions could not be undertaken by them. When such extensions had to be undertaken by independent bodies of shareholders, with no one to guarantee them good dividends, the local and class interests would find it a less easy matter than at present to aggrandize themselves at the expense of others.

And now as to the policy of thus modifying railway legislation—the commercial policy we mean. Leaving out of sight the more general social interests, let us glance at the effects on mercantile interests—the proximate instead of the ultimate effects. The implication contained in the last paragraph, that the making of branches and supplementary lines would no longer be so facile, will be thought to prove the disadvantage of any such limit as the one advocated. Many will argue, that to restrict Companies to their original undertakings would fatally cripple railway enterprise. Many others will remark, that,

however detrimental to shareholders this extension system may have been, it has manifestly proved beneficial to the public. Both these positions seem to us more than questionable. We will first look at the last of them.

Even were travelling accommodation the sole thing to be considered, it would not be true that prodigality in new lines has been advantageous. The districts supplied have, in many cases, themselves been injured by it. It is shown by the evidence given before the Select Committee on Railway and Canal Bills, that in Lancashire, the existence of competing lines has, in some cases, both diminished the facilities of communication and increased the cost. It is further shown by this evidence, that a town obtaining branches from two antagonist Companies, by-and-by, in consequence of a working arrangement between these Companies, comes to be worse off than if it had but one branch—and Hastings is quoted as an example. It is again shown that a district may be wholly deprived of railway accommodation by the granting of a superfluity of lines; as in the case of Wilts and Dorset. In 1844-5, the Great Western and the South Western Companies projected rival systems of lines, supplying these and parts of the adjacent counties. The Board of Trade, "asserting that there was not sufficient traffic to remunerate an outlay for two independent railways," reported in favour of the Great Western schemes; and bills were granted for them: a certain agreement, suggested by the Board of Trade, being at the same time made with the South Western, which, in return for reciprocal advantages, conceded this district to its rival. Notwithstanding this agreement, the South Western, in 1847, projected an extension calculated to take most of the traffic from the Great Western extensions; and in 1848, Parliament, though it had virtually suggested this agreement, and though the Great Western Company had already spent a million and a half in the part execution of the new lines, authorized the South Western project. The result was, that

the Great Western Company suspended their works; the South Western Company were unable, from financial difficulties, to proceed with theirs; the district has remained for years unaccommodated; and only since the powers granted to the South Western have expired from delay, has the Great Western recommenced its long-suspended undertakings.

And if this excessive multiplication of supplementary lines has often directly decreased the facilities of communication, still more has it done this indirectly, by maintaining the cost of travelling on the main lines. Little as the public in general are conscious of the fact, it is nevertheless true, that they pay for the accommodation of unremunerative districts by high fares in remunerative districts. Before this reckless branch-making commenced, 8 and 9 per cent. were the dividends returned by our chief railways; and these dividends were rapidly increasing. The maximum dividend allowed by their Acts is 10 per cent. Had there not been unprofitable extensions, this maximum would have been reached many years since; and in the absence of the power to undertake new works, the fact that it had been reached could not have been hidden. Lower rates for goods and passengers would necessarily have followed. These would have caused a large increment of traffic; and with the aid of the natural increase otherwise going on, the maximum would shortly again have been reached. There can scarcely be a doubt that repetitions of this process would, before now, have reduced the fares and freights on our main lines to at least one-third less than the present ones. This reduction, be it remembered, would have affected those railways which subserve commercial and social intercourse in the greatest degree—would, therefore, have applied to the most important part of the traffic throughout the kingdom. As it is, however, this greater proportion of the traffic has been heavily taxed for the benefit of the smaller proportion. That the tens who travel on branches might have railway communication, the hundreds who travel



along main lines have been charged 30, perhaps 40 per cent. extra. Nay, worse: that these tens might be accommodated, the hundreds who would have been brought on to the main lines by lower fares have gone unaccommodated. Is it then so clear that undertakings which may have been disastrous to shareholders have yet been beneficial to the public?

But it is not only in greater cost of transit that the evil has been felt; it has been felt also in diminished safety. The multiplication of railway accidents, which has of late years drawn so much attention, has been in no inconsiderable degree caused by the extension policy. The relation is not obvious; and we had ourselves no conception that such a relation existed, until the facts illustrative of it were furnished to us by a director who had witnessed the whole process of causation. When preference-share dividends and guarantees began to make large draughts upon half-yearly revenues—when original stock was greatly depreciated, and the dividends upon it fell from 9 and 8 per cent. to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  and 4 and  $3\frac{1}{2}$ , great dissatisfaction necessarily arose among shareholders. There were stormy meetings, motions of censure, and committees of investigation. Retrenchment was the general cry; and retrenchment was carried to a most imprudent extent. Directors with an indignant proprietary to face, and under the fear that their next dividend would be no greater, perhaps less, than the last, dared not to lay out money for the needful repairs. Permanent way, reported to them as requiring to be replaced, was made to serve awhile longer. Old rolling stock was not superseded by new to the proper extent; nor increased in proportion to the demand. Committees, appointed to examine where the expenditure could be cut down, went round discharging a porter here, dispensing with a clerk there, and diminishing the salaries of the officials in general. To such a length was this policy carried, that in one case, to effect a saving of £1200 per annum, the working *staff* was so crippled as to cause, in the course of a few years, a

loss of probably £100,000—such, at least, is the opinion of the gentleman on whose authority we make this statement, who was himself one of the retrenchment committee. What, now, was the necessary result of all this? With the line out of condition; with engines and carriages neither sufficient in number nor in the best working order; with drivers, guards, porters, clerks, and the rest, decreased to the smallest number with which it was possible to work; with inexperienced managers in place of the experienced ones driven away by reduced salaries; what was likely to occur? Was it not certain that an apparatus of means just competent to deal with the ordinary traffic, would be incompetent to deal with extraordinary traffic? that a decimated body of officials under inferior regulation, would fail in the emergencies sure from time to time to occur? that with way and works and rolling stock all below par, there would occasionally be a concurrence of small defects, permitting something to go wrong? Was not a multiplication of accidents inevitable? No one can doubt it. And if we trace back this result step by step to its original cause—the reckless expenditure in new lines—we shall see further reason to doubt whether such expenditure has been as advantageous to the public as is supposed. We shall hesitate to indorse the opinion of the Select Committee on Railway and Canal Bills, that it is desirable “to increase the facility for obtaining lines of local convenience.”

Still more doubtful becomes the alleged benefit accruing to the public from extensions that cause loss to shareholders, when, from considering the question as one of traffic, we turn to consider it as a general commercial question—a question of political economy. Were there no facts showing that the travelling facilities gained, were counterbalanced, if not more than counterbalanced, by the travelling facilities lost; we should still contend that the making of branches that do not return fair dividends, is a national evil, and not a national good. The

prevalent error committed in studying matters of this nature, consists in looking at them separately, rather than in connection with other social wants and social benefits. Not only does one of these undertakings, when executed, affect society in various ways; but the effort put forth in the execution of it affects society in various ways: and to form a true estimate, the two sets of results must be compared. The axiom that "action and re-action are equal, and in opposite directions," is true, not only in mechanics—it is true every where. No power can be put forth by a nation to achieve a given end, without producing, for the time being, a corresponding inability to achieve some other end. No amount of capital can be abstracted for one purpose, without involving an equivalent lack of capital for another purpose. Every advantage wrought out by labour, is purchased by the relinquishment of some alternative advantage which that labour might else have wrought out. In judging, therefore, of the benefits flowing from any public undertaking, it is requisite to consider them not only by themselves, but as contrasted with benefits which the invested capital would otherwise have secured. But how can these relative benefits be measured? it may be asked. Very simply. The rate of interest which the capital will bring as thus respectively applied, is the measure. Money which, if used for a specific end, gives a smaller return than it would give if otherwise used, is used disadvantageously, not only to its possessors, but to the community. This is a corollary from the commonest principles of political economy—a corollary so simple that we can scarcely understand how, after the free-trade controversy, a committee, numbering among its members Mr. Bright and Mr. Cardwell, should have overlooked it. Have we not been long ago taught, that in the mercantile world capital goes where it is most wanted—that the business which is at any time attracting capital by unusually high returns, is a business proved by that very fact to be unusually active—that its unusual activity shows society to be making great

demands upon it; giving it high profits; wanting its commodities or services more than other commodities or services? Do not comparisons among our railways demonstrate that those paying large dividends are those subserving the public needs in a greater degree than those paying smaller dividends? and is it not obvious that the efforts of capitalists to get these larger dividends led them to supply the greater needs before the lesser needs? Surely, the same law which holds in ordinary commerce, and also holds between one railway investment and another, holds likewise between railway investments and other investments. If the money expended in making branches and feeders is yielding an average return of from 1 to 2 per cent.; whilst if employed in land-draining or ship-building, it would return 4 or 5 per cent. or more; it is a conclusive proof that money is more wanted for land-draining and ship-building than for branch-making. And the general conclusions to be drawn are, that that large proportion of railway capital which does not pay the current rate of interest, is capital ill laid out; that if the returns on such proportion were capitalized at the current rate of interest, the resulting sum would represent its real value; and that the difference between this sum and the amount expended, would indicate the national loss—a loss which, on the lowest estimate, would exceed £100,000,000. And however true it may be that the sum invested in unprofitable lines will go on increasing in productiveness; yet as, if more wisely invested, it would similarly have gone on increasing in productiveness, perhaps even at a greater rate, this vast loss must be regarded as a permanent and not as a temporary one.

Again then, we ask, is it so obvious that undertakings which have been disastrous to shareholders have been advantageous to the public? Is it not obvious, rather, that in this respect, as in others, the interests of shareholders and the public are in the end identical? And does it not seem that instead of recommending "increased facilities for obtaining lines of local con-

venience," the Select Committee might properly have reported that the existing facilities are abnormally great, and should be decreased?

There remains still to be considered, the other of the two objections above adverted to as liable to be raised against the proposed interpretation of the proprietary contract—the objection, namely, that it would be a serious hindrance to railway enterprise. After what has already been said, it is scarcely needful to reply, that the hindrance would be no greater than is natural and healthful—no greater than is requisite to hold in check the private interests at variance with public ones. This notion that railway enterprise will not be carried on with due activity without artificial incentives—that bills for local extensions "rather need encouragement," as the committee say, is nothing but a remnant of protectionism. The motive which has hitherto led to the formation of all independent railway companies—the search of capitalists for good investments—may safely be left to form others as fast as local requirements become great enough to promise fair returns; as fast, that is, as local requirements should be satisfied. This would be manifest enough without illustration; but there are facts proving it.

Already we have incidentally referred to the circumstance, that it has of late become common for landowners, merchants, and others locally interested, to get up railways for their own accommodation, which they do not expect to pay satisfactory dividends; and in which they are yet content to invest considerable sums, under the belief that the indirect profits accruing to them from increased facilities of traffic, will out-balance the direct loss. To so great an extent is this policy being carried, that, as stated to the Select Committee, "in Yorkshire and Northumberland, where branch lines are being made through mere agricultural districts, the landowners are *giving their land* for the purpose, and taking shares." With such examples

before us, it cannot rationally be doubted that there will always be capital forthcoming for the making of local lines as soon as the sum of the calculated benefits, direct and indirect, justifies its expenditure.

"But," it will be urged, "a branch that would be unremunerative as an independent property, is often remunerative to the company that has made it, in virtue of the traffic it brings to the trunk line. Though yielding meagre returns on its own capital, yet, by increasing the returns on the capital of the trunk line, it compensates, or more than compensates. Were the existing company, however, forbidden to extend its undertaking, such a branch would not be made; and injury would result." This is all true, with the exception of the last assertion, that such a branch would not be made. Though in its corporate capacity, the company owning the trunk line would be unable to join in a work of this nature; there would be nothing to prevent individual shareholders in the trunk line from doing so to any extent they thought fit: and were the prospects as favourable as is assumed, this course, being manifestly advantageous to individual shareholders, would be pursued by many of them. If, acting in concert with others similarly circumstanced, the owner of £10,000 worth of stock in the trunk line, could aid the carrying out of a proposed feeder promising to return only two per cent. on its cost, by taking shares to the extent of £1000; it would answer his purpose to do this, providing the extra traffic it brought would raise the trunk-line dividend by one-fourth per cent. Thus, under a limited proprietary contract, companies would still, as now, foster extensions where they were wanted: the only difference being, that in the absence of guaranteed dividends, some caution would be shown; and the poorer shareholders would not, as at present, be sacrificed to the richer.

In brief, our position is, that whenever, by the efforts of all parties to be advantaged — local landowners, manufacturers,

merchants, trunk-line shareholders, &c.—the capital for an extension can be raised—whenever it becomes clear to all such, that their indirect profits plus their direct profits will make the investment a paying one; the fact is proof that the line is wanted. On the contrary, whenever the prospective gains to those interested, are insufficient to induce them to undertake it; the fact is proof that the line is not wanted so much as other things are wanted; and therefore *ought not to be made*. Instead then of the principle we advocate being objectionable as a check to railway enterprise, one of its merits is, that by destroying the artificial incentives to such enterprise, it would confine it within normal limits.

A perusal of the evidence given before the Select Committee, will show that it has sundry other merits, which we have space only to indicate.

It is estimated by Mr. Laing—and Mr. Stephenson, whilst declining to commit himself to the estimate, “does not believe he has overstated it,”—that out of the £280,000,000 already raised for the construction of our railways, £70,000,000 has been needlessly spent in contests, in duplicate lines, in “the multiplication of an immense number of schemes prosecuted at an almost reckless expense;” and Mr. Stephenson believes that this sum is “a very inadequate representative of the actual loss in point of convenience, economy, and other circumstances connected with traffic, which the public has sustained by reason of parliamentary carelessness in legislating for railways.” Under an equitable interpretation of the proprietary contract, the greater part of this would have been avoided.

The competition between rival companies in extension and branch making, which has already done vast injury, and the effects of which, if not stopped, will, in the opinion of Mr. Stephenson, be such that “property now paying  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. will in ten years be worth only 3 per cent., and that on twenty-one millions of money”—this competition could never have existed

in its intense and deleterious form under the limiting principle we advocate.

Prompted by jealousy and antagonism, our companies have obtained powers for 2000 miles of railway which they have never made. The millions thus squandered in surveys and parliamentary contests—"food for lawyers and engineers"—would nearly all have been saved, had each supplementary line been obtainable only by an independent body of proprietors with no one to shield them from the penalties of reckless scheming.

It is admitted that the branches and feeders constructed from competitive motives, have not been laid out in the best directions for the public. To defeat, or retaliate upon, opponents, having been one of the ends—often the chief end—in making them; routes have been chosen especially calculated to effect this end; and the local traffic has in consequence been ill provided for. Had these branches and feeders, however, been left to the enterprise of their respective districts, aided by such other enterprise as they could attract, the reverse would have been the fact; seeing that on the average, in these smaller cases as in the greater ones, the routes which most accommodate the public must be the routes most profitable to projectors.

Were the illegitimate competition in extension-making done away, there would remain between companies just that normal competition which is advantageous to all. It is not true, as is alleged, that there cannot exist between railways a competition analogous to that which exists between traders. The evidence of Mr. Saunders, the secretary of the Great Western Company, proves the contrary. He shows that where the Great Western and the North Western railways communicate with the same towns, as at Birmingham and Oxford, each has tacitly adopted the fare which the other was charging; and that whilst there is thus no competition in fares, there is competition in speed and accommodation. The results are, that each takes that portion of the traffic, which, in virtue of its position and local circumstances,



naturally falls to its share; that each stimulates the other to give the greatest advantages it can afford; and that each keeps the other in order by threatening to take away its natural share of the traffic, if, by ill-behaviour or inefficiency, it counterbalances the special advantages it offers. Now, this is just the form which competition eventually assumes between traders. After it has been ascertained by underselling, what is the lowest remunerative price at which any commodity can be sold, the general results are, that that becomes the established price; that each trader is content to supply those only who, from proximity or other causes, naturally come to him; and that only when he treats his customers badly, need he fear that they will inconvenience themselves by going elsewhere for their goods.

Is there not, then, pressing need for an amendment of the laws affecting the proprietary contract, an amendment which shall transform it from an unlimited into a limited contract? or rather—not *transform* it into such, but *recognise* it as such? If there be truth in our argument, the absence of any limitation has been the chief cause of the manifold evils of our railway administration. The share-trafficking of directors; the complicated intrigues of lawyers, engineers, contractors, and others; the betrayal of proprietaries—all the complicated corruptions which we have detailed, have primarily arisen from it, have been made possible by it. It has rendered travelling more costly and less safe than it would have been; and whilst apparently facilitating traffic, has indirectly hindered it. By fostering antagonism, it has led to the ill laying-out of supplementary lines; to the wasting of enormous sums in useless parliamentary contests; to the loss of an almost incredible amount of national capital in the making of railways for which there is no due requirement. Regarded in the mass, the investments of shareholders have been reduced by it to less than half the average productiveness which *such investments* should possess; and, as all authorities

admit, railway property is, even now, kept below its real value, by the fear of future depreciations consequent on future extensions. Considering then the vastness of the interests at stake—considering that the total capital of our companies will soon reach £300,000,000—considering, on the one hand, the immense number of persons owning this capital (many of them with no incomes but what are derived from it), and, on the other hand, the great extent to which the community is concerned, both directly as to its commercial facilities, and indirectly as to the economy of its resources—considering all this, it becomes extremely important that railway property should be placed on a secure footing, and railway enterprise confined within normal bounds. The change is demanded alike for the welfare of shareholders and the public; and it is one which equity manifestly dictates. No charge of over-legislation can be brought against it. It is simply an extension to joint-stock contracts, of the principle applied to all other contracts; it is merely a fulfilment of the State's judicial function in cases hitherto neglected; it is nothing but a better administration of justice.

## POSTSCRIPT.

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SHORTLY after the publication of the foregoing article in the *Edinburgh Review*, the writer received sundry letters from gentlemen conversant with railway affairs, endorsing the statements and reasonings contained in it, and, along with minor criticisms, giving further facts and arguments in support of its conclusions. The reprinting of the article has offered an opportunity of utilizing this additional matter; and, at the writer's request, two of these gentlemen have been so good as to put their valuable information and suggestions into a fit form for general currency.

The communication which, as being a further exposure of the evils to be remedied, may most conveniently be placed first, refers to certain very recent transactions in one of our leading Railway Companies; whose previous misdoings have supplied some of the most telling illustrations in the preceding pages. A case has been mentioned, in which, after the proprietary had twice rejected certain extensions, which were on each subsequent occasion brought forward under some colourable modification or change of circumstances, they had, even a third time, to go through a harassing and expensive contest to prevent this threatened injury of their property. Such has been the strength and pertinacity of the landowning, parliamentary, official, and directorial influences at work in this case, that there has since been yet another attempt, of course made under plausible pretexts, to force the Company into this same losing undertaking. The following is a narrative of this last series of *manceuvres* :—

*August 3, 1855.*

My Dear Sir,—In compliance with your request, I send you the following narrative of the contest in the South Western Railway Company, which has just terminated in the complete subjugation of the shareholders to the views of the directors. The novel and startling circumstances under which this result has been finally achieved, deserve the attentive consideration of all who are interested in the security of railway property.

In the session of 1853, the directors of the South Western Company, being desirous of defeating a pending scheme for a broad gauge railway from Exeter to Dorchester, conceived the project of pledging their own Company to a committee of the House of Commons, to make a narrow gauge railway between the same points.

They accordingly, notwithstanding the opposition of two of their body, issued a report to their shareholders advocating such a pledge, and, as an inducement, representing that the Company's existing line from Southampton to Dorchester, in extension of which their proposed line would be constructed, yielded a profit of  $3\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. This report gave no intimation that there was any difference of opinion amongst the directors; and along with it was sent to each shareholder, at the Company's expense, a stamped form of proxy—not in blank so that the shareholder might intrust it to whom he might think fit—but with the names of the chairman and deputy-chairman inserted in print, so as to enable them to vote in the name and according to the directions of the shareholder, at a meeting of the Company to be held on the 19th of May, 1853. A pressing canvass of the larger shareholders in favour of the scheme was at the same time made by the chairman and some of the directors.

A considerable number of proxies in support of the directors' project was by these means obtained; and, at the meeting, the chairman proposed that the directors should be empowered to pledge the Company to bring in a bill, in the session of 1854,

for a single line of railway from Dorchester through Bridport to Exeter, in extension of the Company's existing railway from Southampton to Dorchester, which was also a single line. Much opposition was made to this proposal. Mr. Mortimer, a director eminently versed in questions of traffic, entirely denied the accuracy of the directors' statements as to the profits of the Southampton and Dorchester line. It was also contended that the railway which the directors wished to defeat, would be a useful feeder to the South Western lines. The directors, however, with the aid of the proxies obtained on the representations in their report, had a considerable majority in favour of their proposal.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the directors, however, not one-third of the shareholders were induced to execute proxies in favour of the pledge, or otherwise to assent to it. The shareholders who actually opposed the pledge, held about £600,000 of the Company's stock. On the conclusion of the meeting, Mr. Henry Wood, a large shareholder, delivered in a written protest against the projected pledge.

The illegality and invalidity of such a pledge are obvious to every lawyer who has studied the constitution of public companies. The violation of the proprietary contract, by which shareholders in a Company incorporated for the purpose of one undertaking, may be forced into a new and different undertaking (unjust as it is at best), at all events confessedly requires an act of parliament for its accomplishment. Nobody has ever pretended that the mere vote of a meeting is sufficient for such a purpose. But the system under which acts of parliament are granted, enabling existing Companies to embark in new undertakings, at all events gives the shareholders some time for consideration, and some protection against surprise. Before the introduction of a bill for such a purpose, authority must usually be obtained from the shareholders for raising the necessary *capital*. The bill itself is pending for many months. If, during

this period, any improvidence or dishonesty in the scheme is pointed out, the shareholders, or even a minority of them holding a prescribed amount of capital, may defeat it at the meeting required to be held by the Wharnccliffe order of the House of Lords. It is true, that, notwithstanding these opportunities, a project advocated by the directors is seldom rejected by the shareholders. But if, as was attempted here, a Company could irrevocably pledge itself to a new scheme, of whatever magnitude, within a few days after the first suggestion of such a project by the directors; and if such a pledge could, by anticipation, deprive the shareholders, including those who had not assented to it, of the opportunities for consideration, and the right of rejecting new projects at a Wharnccliffe meeting, which are afforded by the ordinary practice of parliament; the insecurity which the prevalence of the extension policy has attached to railway property, would be tenfold greater than at present.

However, having obtained the resolution of the meeting of the 19th May, 1853, Mr. Francis Scott, M.P., the then chairman of the Company, went before the Committee of the House of Commons, and, being examined, proposed to pledge his Company to make the single line of railway from Dorchester, through Bridport, to Exeter, which the meeting had sanctioned. At a later stage of the proceedings, the Committee, in the absence of Mr. Francis Scott, inquired of Mr. Hope Scott, the Company's counsel, whether the South Western Company were prepared to make a double line? Mr. Hope Scott thereupon referred to Mr. Bircham, the Company's solicitor; and the result of this consultation between the solicitor and counsel was, that Mr. Hope Scott took upon himself, without any authority whatever from Mr. F. Scott, to state to the Committee that this requirement should be complied with. The Committee thereupon, and without further communication with Mr. F. Scott, came to their decision, and resolved to report against the broad gauge line. On the following morning they called on Mr. F. Scott to sign a letter embodying the pledge

to make a double line, which had been given by Mr. Hope Scott. The circumstances which ensued are narrated by Mr. Bircham, the Company's solicitor, in his evidence before a recent Committee of the House of Lords, in the following terms:—"Mr. Scott certainly tried very hard to have a distinction made upon the face of that letter, that he had only promised a single line and double works; the Committee said they could not make distinctions between the Company and the Company's counsel—that they had understood there was to be a double line, and they must require the letter to be signed, as in fact it was signed. Mr. Francis Scott having made some modification, to show that a part of the pledge had been made by Mr. Hope Scott rather than by himself, the letter was signed." The letter which the Committee thought proper to exact, and Mr. F. Scott was weak enough to sign, under the foregoing circumstances, was addressed to the chairman of the Committee, and was in the following terms:—

"LONDON, *July 1, 1853.*

"SIR—With reference to the case of the Devon and Dorset Railway, and the railway communication of the district it was proposed to serve, I beg, as chairman of the London and South Western Railway Company, and as their representative, acting under the authority of the resolutions of the proprietors at their public meeting on the 19th May last, to repeat the pledge which, in the course of my evidence before the Committee, I intended with all distinctness to give, viz.:—That the London and South Western Railway Company will, in the next session of parliament, introduce and use their best endeavours to carry a bill, authorizing an extension of their railway from Dorchester to Exeter, on the gauge of the London and South Western Railway, themselves finding the necessary capital, and taking all the proper preliminary measures, and afterwards executing the works with all despatch; and I have no hesitation in adding that the *Company* will, if such extension line be granted to them,

immediately proceed to double the line between Southampton and Dorchester, without waiting for the period at which the obligation to do so might come into operation under the existing provisions of the Southampton and Dorchester Act.

“The resolutions of the Company with reference to the making of the extension line from Dorchester to Exeter, enable me to assure you, and I do assure you, that the line to be proposed shall be a satisfactory and efficient one, and, in accordance with the pledge given by Mr. Hope Scott, shall comprise a double line of way.—I am, Sir, your very faithful and obedient servant,

“FRANCIS SCOTT.”

It will be observed, that by this letter Mr. Scott not only pledges his Company to make a double instead of a single line from Dorchester to Exeter, but moreover to convert from a single into a double line, the Company's existing line of railway from Southampton to Dorchester. This latter project had never been laid before the shareholders. On the whole, the departure from the authority obtained from the meeting of the shareholders of the 19th May, 1853, which was extorted by the Committee, and submitted to by Mr. Scott, involved an outlay of upwards of £400,000 of the shareholders' money. The directors' report to the meeting of the 19th May, 1853, stated that the cost of the line for which they sought authority to pledge the Company had been estimated at £630,000, and could in no case exceed £700,000. In a report issued in May, 1855, the directors tell the shareholders that the cost of redeeming the pledge actually given could scarcely have been less than £1,100,000.

I should have mentioned that not only did this Committee ignore the rights of the shareholders, by exacting a pledge confessedly exceeding the authority which had been sought from the shareholders; but they acted in the full warning from the counsel for the rival project, that by the general principles



of law, no such pledge could be legally given at all, and that the ordinary rights of the shareholders who had opposed or not assented to such a pledge, would remain unaffected by it. No attention was paid to this consideration.

At the Company's half-yearly meeting which followed soon after these transactions, and was very thinly attended, the directors obtained a vote sanctioning what had been done. It is plain, however, that if the vote of the first meeting could not legally deprive the shareholders, by anticipation, of their ordinary rights of assent or dissent with reference to new undertakings, the same principle applies to the vote of this second meeting. In the latter case, moreover, no notice had been given that any resolution on the subject would be submitted to the meeting.

In November, 1853, the directors brought forward a scheme for the fulfilment of their pledge. But by this time the subject had been discussed; and the invalidity of the pledge, and the injurious character of the project, had become understood. The consequence was, that the directors' scheme was defeated at the largest meeting of the Company ever known: 796 shareholders voting for, and 1040 against it.

Not only was this pretended pledge thus repudiated by a numerical majority of shareholders; but that majority contained names which could never have been found there if law and justice had not fully warranted such a repudiation. Several of the highest judicial authorities in the superior courts of law and equity, including a late Lord Chancellor, voted in that majority; and have voted in a similar sense on every subsequent occasion.

With the decision of the meeting of November, 1853, the matter, so far as the South Western Company was concerned, for some time rested. The session of 1854, in which, by the terms of the pledge, the Company was bound to introduce a bill, passed away without any notice of the omission to do so being *taken* in Parliament. Hundreds of persons who had never heard

of the pledge, subsequently bought shares in the Company. Parliament, moreover, subsequently granted to an independent Company, a line connecting Dorchester and Bridport; which is about one-third, and I believe the least unprofitable third, of the line between Dorchester and Exeter.

In the session of 1855, the South Western directors, without consulting their shareholders, introduced into Parliament a bill for effecting some miscellaneous objects, confessedly of no great importance. On the second reading of this bill, it was objected that the pledge given by the Company in 1853 had not been fulfilled. The bill was in charge of Mr. Chaplin, M.P. for Salisbury, who had succeeded Mr. Scott as chairman of the company, and of Mr. Hutchins, M.P., another director. Mr. Chaplin was the leading champion of the project for the extension of the Company's railway to Exeter from Salisbury, by way of Yeovil, known as the central line, which had during several years been vainly urged by the directors on the shareholders. Mr. Hutchins, who represented a borough between Southampton and Dorchester, was also a supporter of extensions to Exeter. It might have been expected, that when these gentlemen heard their fellow-shareholders denounced in strong terms as guilty of a breach of faith, they would in fairness have stated to the House, that a great body of the shareholders insisted that the alleged pledge was illegal and invalid—that no meeting of the Company could authorize such a pledge; and, moreover, that the committee of the House of Commons had wrongfully exacted from Mr. Scott, a pledge confessedly unauthorized by the votes of his constituents. No such statement whatever was made. Mr. Chaplin actually told the House that he was on his knees pleading for pardon for the breach of the pledge; and he excused its non-fulfilment by the occurrence of a fall of 16 per cent. in the Company's shares, and a decrease in their dividends. Whatever may have been the motive with which these excuses were put forward, the result of them may be easily anticipated. A strong disposi-

tion was felt by the House, to resist conduct on the part of the Company, which its chairman openly avowed to involve a breach of faith.

The House of Commons, thus in the dark as to the real feelings of the shareholders, ultimately adopted a course which, as was emphatically stated by Sir John Walsh, M.P., in his speech at a subsequent meeting of the Company, would never have been adopted if the House had been made aware, as it ought to have been, that the validity of the pledge of 1853, and the propriety of its acceptance by the committee were denied. They referred the Company's bill to the committee by whom the pledge had been accepted—the very persons who, if that pledge was illegal or irregular, so that it was a blunder to accept of it, were responsible for that blunder.

This committee at once decided (notwithstanding the opposition of the only one of its members, who had, in 1853, objected to any report to the House founded on the pledge) to intimate that they should expect proposals from the Company for the redemption of the pledge; and should otherwise insert a clause in the bill before them, providing for its entire fulfilment, on pain of stoppage of the Company's dividends. The directors, a majority of whom had for several years notoriously supported extensions to Exeter, lost no time in taking advantage of this decision. On the very day it was come to, they resolved that the bill should not be withdrawn, but that the company should consent to the insertion of a clause binding it to bring in a bill for the construction of a railway from Yeovil or Dorchester (at the Company's option) to Exeter. By the first of these alternatives, the pledge would be twisted into a means of forcing on the shareholders Mr. Chaplin's often rejected project of a central line, with which, as given by Mr. Scott, it had nothing whatever to do.

A meeting of the Company was summoned for the 28th of April, 1855, with reference to the bill. The first intimation to

the shareholders of any intention to insert in the bill any thing relating to the construction of a railway to Exeter, was contained in a circular from the Company's secretary, dated the 24th, and delivered to the shareholders generally on the 26th of April. The last day on which, by the Company's bye-laws, proxies were receivable for the meeting, was the 25th of April; so that no shareholder receiving this circular on the 26th could send his proxy to be used against the bill. A poll demanded at the meeting, instead of being kept open according to the invariable practice at previous meetings of the Company, for two or more days, to allow the shareholders full opportunity of voting in person, was, notwithstanding much remonstrance, and a written protest, finally closed by the decision of the chairman about an hour after the meeting ended.

A meeting thus conducted, yielded an easy triumph to the directors. Of upwards of 4000 shareholders, only 113 voted, including the numerous officials of the Company. And of this number a considerable majority supported the proposal of the Company's surveyor and architect, who, after denouncing the dishonour of breaking the pledge (which involved in its fulfilment the erection of some half a dozen stations and other architectural works), moved a resolution delegating to the directors full power to act in the matter as they might think expedient.

At the next meeting of the House of Commons' Committee, after a pointed inquiry by the chairman of the committee whether the meeting of the 28th of April had been in all respects regular, and a reply in the affirmative by the directors through their counsel, arrangements were made, in conformity with which there were inserted in the bill, clauses compelling the Company to bring in a bill for the construction of a railway from Yeovil or Dorchester (at the Company's option) to Exeter; a clause providing for the raising by the Company of a million sterling for constructing this railway, and a further clause stopping the

Company's dividends in the event of the non-fulfilment of the obligations imposed by the bill. The bill ultimately passed the Commons in this shape.

During all these proceedings, the shareholders who disputed the validity of the pledge of 1853, never had an opportunity of stating their case to the House of Commons. One of their number, Mr. Sergeant Gaselee, a director of the Company, claimed to address the committee on the subject; but was refused a hearing. Another shareholder stated in writing to the chairman of the committee, that the regularity of the meeting of the 28th of April, concerning which inquiry had been made by the committee, was disputed, and tendered himself as a witness on the subject, but with the same result.

By conceding the option to construct a railway from Yeovil to Exeter, instead of from Dorchester to Exeter, the committee virtually abandoned the original pledge; and allowed it to become the means of forcing on the Company a totally different project. It is well understood that the real desire of the majority of the directors is to make the central line from Yeovil, with which, as already observed, the pledge of 1853 had nothing to do. When the South Western Company is committed to this line, the shareholders will probably be offered the advantage of purchasing (on adequate terms) the undertaking of an independent Company, which has obtained a bill for a line from Salisbury to Yeovil, but is said to be without funds for commencing its works. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Dorchester and its neighbourhood will enjoy about as much advantage from this fulfilment of the pledge to make a railway from Dorchester to Exeter, as would be obtained by the inhabitants of Dover, if a pledge to make a line from Dover to London were fulfilled by making a line from Brighton to London.

The history of the matter up to this point is surely instructive. On the part of the directors, we have an issue, at the Company's expense, of stamped forms of proxy to be

intrusted by the shareholders to the supporters of the proposed pledge; while shareholders wishing to give their proxies to the opponents of that proposal, are left to do so at their own expense. Circulated with these proxies, and used as a means of obtaining them, we have a report containing statements on the part of the board of directors, of which the accuracy is afterwards entirely denied by an able director. We have the directors involving the Company in a pledge which there is the highest legal authority for pronouncing invalid altogether; and which, at all events, was, when it was given, to the extent of £400,000 confessedly unauthorized by the shareholders. And when the time comes for considering whether the Company will submit to fulfil this pledge, we have a meeting so conducted that the great majority of the shareholders could by no possibility vote on the question.

On the part of the House of Commons, we find this pretended pledge accepted by a committee, although they were warned that it was totally invalid, and well knew that, at all events, it went greatly beyond the authority which had been sought from the shareholders. And when, two years later, the same committee were about to adopt an unusual and penal course towards the Company, in consequence of the non-fulfilment of this pledge, we find them refusing a hearing to the shareholders who repudiated its validity. Well may a great orator describe parliamentary committees as the very worst tribunals that mortal man's wit ever devised. If the sphere of their jurisdiction is to be extended from ordinary private bill legislation to compulsory and penal legislation, the consequences will be serious indeed.

If report is to be believed, the discussions on the Company's bill in the House of Commons itself, were preceded by an active canvass, in which members of the legislature, including a late cabinet minister, interested as landowners or otherwise in the districts to be traversed by the projected railway, took part.

But the proceedings in the House of Commons did not settle

the question. The directors had still to get the bill through the Lords; and, with this view, they summoned, with the formalities required by the Wharnccliffe order of the House of Lords, a meeting of the Company. Now, by the Wharnccliffe order, a bill providing for the execution of new works by an existing Company, cannot proceed unless it is approved, at a meeting of that Company, by a majority holding three-fourths of the paid-up capital represented at the meeting. The order also prohibits the issue of stamped proxies for the meeting at the Company's expense; and makes it necessary that certain notices of the meeting shall be given to the shareholders.

It had always been contended by the South Western shareholders, that the pledge which had been given by their directors was not only in itself illegal, but was in direct contravention of this standing order of the House of Lords. For if a meeting at which questions were determinable by a bare majority, and for which stamped proxies were issued by the directors at the Company's expense, could bind the Company by such a pledge; the right of rejecting a new project given by that order to the shareholders, would be in effect destroyed. When the Wharnccliffe meeting was summoned, the shareholders entertaining this view, therefore, conceived that the opportunity for action was come.

A public meeting of shareholders opposed to the directors' policy, was held in London, presided over by a gentleman who has earned the gratitude of his fellow proprietors by his energetic exertions in their cause. At this meeting a series of resolutions was adopted, demonstrating, with singular ability, the invalidity of the pledge, and the injustice of the proceedings which followed it. A similar meeting was held in Manchester.

On the other hand, the directors issued a report preparatory to the meeting of the Company, recommending the adoption of the clauses introduced into the bill in the House of Commons. After enlarging on the parliamentary difficulties which would

otherwise ensue, and intimating that, if the shareholders should disregard their recommendation, the bill must be lost; they concluded their observations on this part of the subject with a formal statement—which may probably be thought superfluous, but which will be found to contrast strangely with their subsequent conduct—that they must leave the decision with the proprietors.

When the meeting of the Company took place, resolutions approving and disapproving the bill were moved and seconded. A poll was taken; and on the re-assembling of the meeting a singular scene ensued. Mr. Chaplin, the chairman of the Company, refused to declare either of the resolutions carried or rejected. He stated the amount of capital, but refused to state the number of shareholders voting, or the number of votes, according to the Company's acts, for and against the bill. Remonstrances and protests were in vain resorted to. The chairman persisted in his refusal: and justified it, as did the Company's solicitor, by the argument that, at a Wharnccliffe meeting, the amount of capital was alone material.

The results which the chairman refused to state are now known. It may perhaps be anticipated that they were not very favourable to the directors. Five hundred and twenty-nine shareholders disapproved of the bill; while no more than 296 approved of it. The majority of voters against the bill was thus 233. The majority in votes, according to the Company's acts, against the bill, was 784. In regard to capital, to which the chairman confined his statement, there was a preponderance in favour of the bill; but it fell short by no less than one million eight hundred thousand pounds of the preponderance of capital which was requisite, according to the terms of the Wharnccliffe order, to enable the bill to be proceeded with. The defeat of the directors on the poll was thus complete on all points.

By the result of this meeting an unsuspecting shareholder might have thought the battle won. The directors had



announced that they left the decision to the shareholders; and that decision had been given against the bill by a large majority. They had professed to hold a Wharncliffe meeting; and, according to the terms of the Wharncliffe order, the result of the poll was fatal to the bill. I believe there is no instance in which the directors of a railway company have ventured to proceed with a bill in the face of such results as these. In the present case, however, the attempt was made.

The first and main obstacle to such an attempt, of course, lay in the Wharncliffe order. Within eight days after the Wharncliffe meeting—within eight days after the chairman had refused to state its results, either in votes or voters, on the ground that it *was* a Wharncliffe meeting—the directors were found contending, by their agent, before the Standing Orders' Committee of the House of Lords, that none of the important parts of the bill were within the Wharncliffe order at all.

The argument in support of this conclusion may be thought somewhat technical. The Wharncliffe order, as I have said, applies to bills providing for the execution of new works. But the enactment of the bill in this case was, that the Company should bring in another bill in a future session for a new work, viz., a railway from Yeovil or Dorchester to Exeter. Now, though the prosecution of this future bill was made imperative by the present bill, on pain of stoppage of the Company's dividends; and though, on the bringing forward of this future bill, the Wharncliffe order could therefore avail the shareholders nothing, seeing that if they thus got rid of it their dividends would be stopped by the present bill; yet, nevertheless, it was argued that the bill before the House was not a bill providing for the execution of new works, but only a bill providing for the bringing in of a future bill for the execution of new works.

I should not have troubled you with this astute piece of reasoning, but that it had the merit of success. The vote of the *meeting* was held, by the Standing Orders' Committee of the

House of Lords, to be fatal to some of the less important parts of the bill, which were decided to be within the Wharnccliffe order; but the portions of the bill providing for the bringing in of a future bill for the railway between Yeovil or Dorchester and Exeter, were decided not to be within that order, and were permitted to proceed. A coach-and-four has thus been driven through the Wharnccliffe order. How many similar equipages are likely to follow by this newly-discovered route, persons acquainted with the tactics of railway warfare can well conjecture.

This unexpected and startling decision was in its results fatal to the shareholders. Their plain case against the bill was, that it had been rejected by the meeting of the Company to which it had been submitted, and that the directors were proceeding with it against the will of the shareholders. The established mode of ascertaining the assent or dissent of shareholders to bills brought into the House of Lords, is prescribed by the Wharnccliffe order. When the shareholders found that the directors had succeeded in depriving them by a technicality of the benefit of this order, they appeared by counsel before the committee on the merits of the bill, and objected to the *locus standi* of the directors to prosecute a bill which had been rejected by the shareholders. But this objection, which was in fact a novel mode of raising the question usually disposed of by the Wharnccliffe order, was overruled; and the result was, that notwithstanding such further opposition as the shareholders' counsel could offer, the Committee found the preamble of the bill to be proved. During the discussions before this Committee, the counsel employed by the directors professedly to represent the Company, was heard to argue zealously in favour of the enforcement of the pledge against the very Company which was, in name, his client.

A second Wharnccliffe meeting was afterwards held, with reference to the clauses of the bill which had been struck out in consequence of the vote of the first meeting. As these

clauses were not the main subject of objection by the shareholders, little serious opposition was made to their reinsertion. The discussion at the meeting, which was, as may be supposed, of a stormy character, related chiefly to the general conduct of the directors in reference to the bill. The clauses which had been struck out having been restored by the vote of this meeting, the bill has passed *verbatim* as it was submitted to the first meeting, and there rejected by the shareholders.

Here, then, is a new era in railway politics. Hitherto the complaint has been of the unfair and absolute power of the majority of shareholders over the minority. You have, in the *Edinburgh Review*, forcibly shown the justice of that complaint. But it is now, for the first time, so far as I am aware, that we find an admitted minority coercing the admitted majority; that we find the directors of a railway company sufficiently audacious, and openly regardless of the wishes of their shareholders, to proceed with a bill in Parliament in the teeth of a formal vote of disapproval by the shareholders—a vote come to, as we have seen, by a decisive majority. No doubt the shareholders will be offered, in justification of this proceeding, and of the evasion by a technicality of the Wharnccliffe order, the hackneyed plea, that the chairman and directors have acted for the good of the Company. Seldom has this excuse been wanting for any abuse of power, however flagrant. When it appeared, a few years ago, from the report of a committee of investigation, that the deposits and calls on the shares of this very chairman, Mr. Chaplin, had been paid out of the Company's funds, to the extent of upwards of £80,000, it was alleged that it had been done for the good of the Company. But, in the present case, the answer to that argument is obvious. In law and justice, as well as by the express announcement of the directors, it was for the shareholders to decide on the course which it was most for the good of the Company to adopt with reference to this bill. They

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did decide by a large majority; and the directors have set them and their decision at defiance.

Having been a South Western shareholder for many years, I may say of the proprietary thus defeated, that it has not been altogether an apathetic body. The ascendancy of the party devoted to the making of railways, as distinguished from the ownership or working of railways actually made, has not been submitted to without some violent efforts to shake it off. The failure of these attempts is due to the faulty constitution of railway companies, rather than to the indifference of the shareholders.

The Company is now committed, in a time of railway disaster, to spend a million of money on an extension railway, which cannot, for years to come, so much as pay its working expenses. The landowners in the district to be traversed by this railway, will find the value of their property greatly increased. Half a dozen members of Parliament will have pleased their constituents. Some over-grown capitalists, and a few well-known lawyers, architects, engineers, and jobbers, will derive large profits out of the project, in a variety of ways. But these results will be accompanied by grievous loss and injury to the great body of shareholders; including hundreds of families whose property has been placed in the Company as a permanent investment. I think, as I said at the outset, that the means by which this state of things has been brought about, deserve the attentive consideration of every railway shareholder.—Believe me, always yours faithfully,

R. MAC DONNELL.

HERBERT SPENCER, Esq.

In respect to the equity and advantage of limiting railway companies to the enterprises specified in their deeds of incorporation, some facts and comments have been furnished by a gentleman who has an extensive practical knowledge of con-

tinental railways, and more especially of their administrative systems. It will be seen from his statements, that the policy advocated in the foregoing pages as the only just one, and the nationally-beneficial one, is one that has been elsewhere pursued. He writes thus:—

It cannot but be difficult to write even a few paragraphs in favour of an incontestable proposition; and this difficulty is greatly increased by the ability, truthfulness, and judgment with which the argument is maintained in the article on Railway Morals and Railway Policy. It may not be easy to prove that the sun shines, or that night will succeed morning; it would nevertheless be thought a sad waste of time to endeavour to show the certainty of the one, or the probability of the other.

The argument on the article before us, seems to trace many of the evils of railway management to a departure from the spirit of the original contract of partnership by which the Company was first formed. That, to such a deviation, almost all the misfortunes of railways may be attributed, every one conversant with public companies must admit. A line is concocted from London to Birmingham and Liverpool, and would be remunerative; but when Shrewsbury is added to it as one branch, Bedford as another, Preston as a third, and finally a duplicate line is made through the Trent Valley, no wonder that dividends have dropped from ten to five per cent., and are even trembling at that.

But how can these things be? Easily—directors are taught to believe that they should not only be carriers, but politicians.

“Our external policy must be attended to. Our frontier must be saved from invasion.” And — *sub-silentio*—“Our pockets would not be lighter if the shares we bought in A. B. and C. D., and which don't pay, were resold to L. and N. W.” on “*strictly equitable terms*.”

Then follow the usual whisperings—the sad effects to be apprehended from such an opposition—the fear that such a bill

may succeed, &c. &c.; and finally a proposition from the board to the proprietary, two-thirds of whom are widows and orphans, whose trust-money has been used by these very directors to place themselves in power. Very little influence is required to make the worse appear the better reason when coming from the lips of a noble chairman; and a majority having been attained, the legislature are ready to pass the bill—by which the original property is diluted, after the fashion of London milk, according to conscience.

So much for the *facts*, now for the remedy; and at no period could the application of a cure be more important than at present, when the new law of limited liability is about to open the flood-gates of speculation to joint-stock companies.

They manage these things better on the continent, by making any proposition or resolution of proprietors, which in its nature is contrary to the spirit of the original agreement—absolutely null and void. I here quote the opinion of an eminent Dutch lawyer on the point:—

“No deviation from the original contract can in any respect take place by virtue of a resolution of a general meeting of shareholders, unless *all* the participants, present or absent, consented, because the contract contains the contract of the association; and although the power is reserved to the king to permit alterations in the original contract, and to which the non-consenting participants must submit; yet, should any alteration affect the substance of the contract, and have a material influence on the rights and obligations of the participants, then, in my opinion, such alterations could be successfully opposed, and the Company dissolved, or the opponent indemnified; these alterations must, however, be very cardinal to cause such an opposition to be successful.”

So much for the protection afforded by the law; and now for the practical management.

In foreign railways there are generally two distinct governing

bodies. The one having the management of the daily administration, and composed of the lawyer, engineer, traffic manager, treasurer, land agent, &c. &c., each of whom are paid according to their relative merits, but who are subservient to, and controlled by, a board of commissioners, or honorary directors, who are unpaid, and not even essentially shareholders, but who are generally selected from their high official position in the several towns through which the railway has to pass, and composed mainly of burgomasters, local judges, and eminent civilians. The latter board meets at least once in three months, to receive a report from the direction of all that has happened during that period, and to look into the actual position of the Company; and to them is reserved the power to allow calls to be made, contracts above a certain sum entered into, and a supervision of all salaries above £100 per annum; and further, the audit of the accounts is their exclusive privilege.

For example, let us imagine that the London and North Western was managed by a board consisting of Messrs. Swift, Carter, Stewart, Booth, Glynn, Huish, Trevithick, and Norris, and it is not difficult to fancy that men such as these, practically acquainted with every part of the line, and untrammelled by marquises and baronets, would work out a far more beneficial result than is now done by a different system.

Such a suggestion will necessarily be sneered at, and pooh, poohed! because it would be most distasteful to the powers that be; but let shareholders carefully consider whether the present system has not been tried and found wanting.

The time is peculiarly auspicious for a change; but if it is now neglected, the ruin may be increased tenfold.

It has been by some objected, that to establish any law forbidding joint-stock companies to undertake other works than those for which they were originally united, would be extremely difficult; seeing that as, at present, our legislature assumes the

power of authorizing such companies to exceed the objects specified in their subscription-contracts, the passing of a general law by which they should be debarred from exceeding these objects, would be tantamount to a resignation by the legislature of its present power to give them special authority for doing so ; and that, however valid the reasons assigned, the legislature will not consent so to limit its own power. There is doubtless much weight in this objection ; and, were there no way of achieving the desired end without such a general law, any amelioration would seem almost hopeless. But, as has been suggested by one to whom the writer is under much obligation for various hints, as well as for a communication given below, it is not necessary that any such general law should be passed. The end "is attainable by an alteration in the practice of parliament in dealing with railway bills. This practice is regulated by a code of rules called the standing orders, and it would be competent for either House of Parliament alone to carry the principle into full effect by a standing order." Already, the Wharnccliffe order establishes a precedent, which would simply have to be enlarged. And though standing orders may be suspended, yet as special reasons for their suspension must be shown, a great obstacle would be put to the carrying out of these reckless and dishonest schemes.

Among the many causes conspiring to bring about the corruptness of our railway administration, there is an important one which has not yet been alluded to—one which seems to have been almost wholly overlooked—one of which the writer was quite unconscious, until his attention was drawn to it. Once pointed out, however, no one can fail to recognize the reality and greatness of the evil. In the annexed letter, its nature and the required remedy are fully explained.

*June 30, 1855.*

My Dear Sir,—I wish to call your attention to what I con-



ceive to be one of the principal causes why the government of Railway Companies, though representative in theory, is, in practice, almost purely oligarchical; and also to suggest a change in the constitution of these companies, which, I think, would go far to correct this evil.

It is essential to the working of any representative constitution, that the representation should not be monopolized by one dominant party. It may happen that an absolute majority of the electors of the United Kingdom are of some one political party; but nobody wishes to see a House of Commons composed exclusively of one political party. Every sensible man desires that each important class or interest in the community, be they Whigs or Tories, landowners or manufacturers, churchmen or dissenters, should have a share in the representation, and possess the means of making their opinions and wishes heard in parliament.

This principle has been wholly disregarded in framing the constitution of railway companies. There is in such companies no subdivision or variety in the constituency by which directors are elected. When vacancies at the board occur, the election to every vacancy, be they few or many, is referred to the whole body of shareholders, and is decided by a bare majority of that body. The result is, that this bare majority elects the whole of the directors. Suppose a thousand shareholders to support one set of candidates, and a thousand and one shareholders, of equal average voting power, to support another set—the latter candidates are elected to a man. The one thousand shareholders remain without a representative at the board, the one thousand and one shareholders monopolize the entire representation.

To a certain extent this evil must occur under any representative system. But the subdivision of constituencies tends to reduce it to a point at which it ceases to be practically felt. If, in one of our counties, all the Conservative candidates are returned, notwithstanding the opposition of a minority of

Liberals, the latter are perhaps consoled by perceiving that in the county town the Liberal candidates are entirely successful, notwithstanding the opposition of a minority of Conservatives. On the whole, no considerable party can fail to have a share of the representation.

But there is no such system of counterpoise in railway companies. Elections are conducted in these companies, as parliamentary elections would be conducted if the election of members by towns and counties were abolished, and there were one election of all the six hundred and fifty-four members of the House of Commons, at which every elector in the United Kingdom was entitled to vote. Under such a system each political party would have its list of candidates—or its ticket, as I believe it is called in America. The list of the political party most in favour would be successful; and the defeated party, however numerous it might be, and by however bare a majority it might be outvoted, would be left without a single representative in Parliament.

The practical result of this mode of election in railway companies is what might be expected. In every great company which is engaged (as nearly all such companies are) in parliamentary contests, and in the extension of their undertakings, there are two parties. There is the party which approves of this policy, and which, active and well organized, wielding the enormous influence derived from the possession of office, and comprising all the lawyers and engineers, jobbers and contractors, connected with the Company, is usually in the ascendant. There is the disapproving party, often considerable in number, which consists mainly of persons who have placed their money in the Company as a permanent investment, and comprises nearly all the more intelligent of such persons.

Is it not of the essence of a representative system, that this latter party should be represented at the board of directors? Persons unacquainted with railway affairs, will hardly believe

that, in most companies, this party has not a single representative in the direction. When a new project is brought forward, the shareholders are almost invariably told, and with truth, that the board is unanimous in recommending its adoption. In one or two companies, indeed, in which the corruption of the leading directors is notorious, and the dissatisfaction of the shareholders unusually great, a member of the opposition party has occasionally succeeded in forcing his way to the board. All who are conversant with the affairs of those companies, well know what a grievous impediment the presence of even one such director presents to "making things pleasant."

If the monopoly of the representation by a bare majority is to be got rid of, it must be by some subdivision of the constituent body. I think the principle on which it was proposed to provide for the representation of minorities by Lord John Russell's Reform Bill of 1854, affords the means of effecting this object. Whether that principle is a good one with reference to Parliamentary elections, it is not my purpose to inquire. The political evil it was intended to meet is, as already observed, to a great extent practically obviated by the subdivision of Parliamentary constituencies. The objections which were made to its working as a political measure have no application to public companies; and the nature of such bodies affords some peculiar facilities for bringing it into operation. I should suggest in accordance with this principle, that on the filling up of several vacancies in the direction of public companies, each shareholder should be entitled to vote for one candidate only; or, at all events, for some number of candidates less than the number of seats to be filled up.

The practical result of this mode of election may be readily calculated. If there were three seats to be filled up, and each shareholder could vote for one candidate only, the dominant party in the Company could not secure all the three seats, unless they could command more than three-fourths of the whole

number of votes. Otherwise, the minority would obtain one seat out of the three. If there were two seats, the dominant party must command upwards of two-thirds, and if four seats, upwards of four-fifths of the votes, to monopolize the representation. The minority would obtain one seat, if they could muster above one-third of the whole number of votes in the first case, and above one-fifth in the second. In the latter case, they would obtain a second seat out of the four, if they could muster above two-fifths of the whole number of votes. It seems obvious that, by means of a well-arranged system of election of this kind, the nearest approach to fairness could be made which the case admits of, and the state of the directorship might reasonably represent the state of opinion amongst the shareholders.

The adoption of the mode of election I have suggested would require an amendment of the Companies Clauses Act of 1845. If that act were amended, the clause which gives the election to casual vacancies in the direction, to the directors themselves, ought surely to be repealed, and the right of election in such cases to be conferred on the shareholders. The tendency to re-elect retiring directors is so strong, that it is only when vacancies occur by death or resignation that an independent candidate can have, under ordinary circumstances, any prospect of success. The election of such candidates has consequently been confined, as far as I am aware, except in some extreme cases, to Companies which have not come within the Companies Clauses Act.

I will conclude by referring to another cause which greatly fetters the action of shareholders, both in choosing directors and in other respects. This is the half-crown stamp imposed on proxies. It is by proxy alone that the vast majority of shareholders can vote. Proxies in support of the dominant party are generally paid for, in one shape or another, out of the funds of the Company. But to an independent candidate for the direction, or to a body of independent shareholders associated to resist some project which they think detrimental to their interests, the expense of

circulating half-crown proxies amongst a proprietary numbered by thousands, is always a formidable and often an insuperable obstacle. That the vote of a shareholder concerning his own affairs should be the subject of taxation appears a singular anomaly, and greatly conduces to the mismanagement of public Companies. Even a reduction of the tax would be a great boon, and I am satisfied that, with the growing disposition of shareholders to think for themselves when they have an opportunity, a sixpenny proxy stamp would be far more productive to the exchequer than the present duty, which practically confines the exercise by shareholders of the right of voting to great and unusual emergencies.

I remain, my dear sir,

Always yours very truly,

R. MAC DONNELL.

HERBERT SPENCER, Esq.

After the number of the *Edinburgh Review* containing the article now republished, had been issued in the United States, sundry comments were made by the press of that country on its disclosures concerning our railway system. The *American Railroad Journal* made them the text for a series of four leading articles on the railway system of America. As these contain a large amount of information possessed by but a few in England; and as this information has an important bearing on the general doctrines that have been set forth; it has been decided to reprint them along with the additional matter above given. Respecting the criticism with which the first of the four articles sets out, it may be admitted that there is ground for it. But it did not come within the writer's object to touch upon those yet deeper legislative errors referred to; nor, probably, would his views have met with editorial approval had they been expressed.

## RAILWAY MORALS AND RAILWAY POLICY.

*From the American Railroad Journal, for November 25, 1854.*

We copy, on another page of the Journal, an article upon the railway morals and railway policy of Great Britain. It is undoubtedly a truthful picture of the condition and management of railway property in that country. As far as there is a parallelism between the manner in which the railways of the two countries are conducted, the article may be studied with as much profit by our own people as those to whom it is directly addressed. We copy it for the additional object of seeing how far this parallelism holds good, and as a means of obtaining a more correct view of the policy and management which prevails in this country, and of the condition and prospects of our railroads.

We would remark, in the outset, that the article quoted appears to us to touch only upon a part, and perhaps upon the least important of the mistakes and misconduct from which railways have suffered. It is an able statement of the present condition of railway affairs; but it only partially explains the causes, while it hardly suggests a remedy, for the abuses which are shown to exist. From the article, it would seem that English railroads have suffered most from *branches*, or extensions of the *trunk* lines, which have been the occasion of enormous expenditures, without any useful object or end. Another great source of evil is *Parliamentary* legislation. Abuses of *legislation*, in fact, are the constant theme of complaint on the part of the British press, and undoubtedly with good reason, as erroneous ideas in legislation lie at the foundation of many of the abuses and *losses* that have been suffered. The article also fails, in our judgment, to point out the proper remedies, mainly for the reason, we think, that the *causes* of the abuses and mistakes are not correctly appreciated.

But whatever be the causes of the disasters which have befallen British railroads, involving a loss, variously estimated at from 350,000,000 to 500,000,000 dollars, equal to one-half or two-thirds of the whole expenditure upon such works in this country, the *fact* stares us fully in the face. Are our roads in

a similar category? Is the vice from which the former have suffered inherent in the system, or peculiar to one country? We propose to draw, in connection with the above article, a parallel between the works of the two countries, for the purpose of showing how far we are suffering from the influence of similar causes, as well as to point out, if possible, the appropriate remedy.

We commence with a comparative review of the *Legislation* of the two countries. As already stated, the wrongs inflicted upon railways by a partial, unwise, and unjust system of legislation, is regarded in England as one of the great sources of the evils suffered. What this legislation is, was well stated by Mr. Robert Stephenson (himself a member of Parliament), in a speech made when in this country to the citizens of Toronto, from which we extract as follows :—

“In the various railway struggles, the committees of Parliament took into consideration *not* what was right nor what was wrong, but entered into considerations entirely subsidiary, and not at all connected with the profits of the lines, nor the necessity for making them. The consequence was that the committees sometimes decided upon different lines, upon reasons entirely apart from their real merits or the scientific questions involved in the details. There was one district through which it was proposed to run two lines, and there was no other difficulty between them than the simple rivalry, that, if one got a charter, the other might also. But here, where the Committee might have given both, they gave neither. In another instance, two lines were projected through a barren country, and the Committee gave the one which afforded the least accommodation to the public. In another, where a line was to be run merely to shorten the time by a few minutes, leading through a mountainous country, the Committee gave both ; so that, where the Committee might have given both, they gave neither ; and where they should have given neither, they gave both. Such a species of legislation was faulty, and he hoped it would not be imitated in this country. There was, indeed, a Committee sitting in England, the attention of which he had called to these facts. After lines were granted, the competition which began within the walls of Parliament continued when the lines came to be put in operation. He could say, upon the authority of the Board of Trade, and from his own knowledge, that, since

competing lines commenced, out of 300 millions of pounds expended 70 had been wasted ; that is, in duplicate lines. But in order to mark the inconsistency of the proceedings in railway *legislation*, when the London and Birmingham was asked for, the feasibility of the route was doubted, great difficulties were suggested as being in the way. Engineers were called in to decide every thing in opposition to it ; the estimates were disputed and doubted, it was maintained that the company ought to prove the traffic that was to go over it, and that 6 or 8 per cent. was to be obtained upon the money invested ; in fact a most paternal part was taken in the project. Before Parliament granted the charter, before the people were allowed to expend their own money, they were here asked to prove the traffic and the profit, and show a regular contract to establish that the work was to be done within the estimate."

He concludes by urging upon the Canadian Parliament to be wiser than that of the mother country, and to permit *none* of the abuses and mistakes which have been followed by such disastrous consequences at home.

Having shewn the incompetency of the legislature of his own country to direct the routes and superintend the construction of railroads, the natural inference conveyed to his own mind should have been, we think, that *all* legislatures are equally incompetent—which is really the case. The Legislature of Great Britain is as competent as that of Canada, or the United States, to interfere in the construction of works of internal improvement. The fact is, that *none* of them are competent to successfully conduct *commercial* enterprises. Such duties do not come within the function of any government, and where they are assumed the result is always mischief. The proper legislation therefore upon all such subjects is none at all, but to leave the action of the people entirely untrammelled, as we think we can show.

When the right to build a railroad depends upon a *special* act of government, such right will always be regarded as possessing a value *in itself*, independent of the work to be constructed under it, and which of itself justifies an expenditure, or a division of its value among the grantees, greater or less according to its assumed worth—expenditures or a division of value, which would not be for an instant thought of, or tolerated, were the construction of such work a *common* right, like that of



a ship, or manufacturing establishment. The idea that a charter confers a *value* is the great cause of the expensive contests, in the outset, before Parliament, to obtain them, in which those who already possess such, resist every *new* application. Hence the *parliamentary* battle upon every charter cost all the way from £2000 to £3000, a sum nearly equal to the total cost of many of our roads. The *cost* of the charter, of course, magnifies its *value*. As soon as it is obtained, the company organizes upon the most expensive scale, with enormous salaries paid to officers, engineers, officials, &c., &c., salaries for which the services rendered are no equivalent. The fallacy lies in attaching a value to a mere *right* to construct a railroad. Were this right regarded as *valueless*, as is the right to build a ship, then not a penny would be paid to obtain it, nor incurred in the organization of the company, nor wasted in its operations. The merits of the project would alone be regarded, and the means exactly proportioned to the *end* to be accomplished. Without the stimulus of the advantage that a *charter* is supposed to confer, few projects would be commenced that did not promise to pay. With entire freedom in the matter of the construction of railroads, the people of Great Britain would have acted as rationally as in any similar enterprise; and only such railways would have been built as are needed. The direction of their roads would have been suited to the public convenience, and their cost proportioned to the business, or, in other words, their income. Instead of such a result, acting upon the idea that a *charter* in itself possessed a *value*, a great number of rival roads have been built, at enormous cost; showing that the tendency of all *special* legislation is to aggravate the very evil it is intended to cure. Experience has proved that a railroad charter in Great Britain is not only entirely *valueless*, but its possession is almost certain to entail serious losses upon its possessors.

The first great cause of competing lines, and extravagant expenditures upon the railways of Great Britain, is to be found in the fact that the legislature assumes to determine the routes of the roads, their mode of construction, and to designate the persons who are to have the privilege of constructing them. The tendency of legislation in *this* country is entirely opposite. Taking the state of New York as a standard, the *right* to construct railroads is just as common as is the right to construct *ships*. Any number of individuals may unite to build a

railroad, where, and as they choose ; no matter how many other roads are built having the same direction and objects. There are *two* roads from the city of New York to Albany. A dozen more may be built, if there are fools enough to construct them. The Government neither confers special privileges, nor does it assume to act as conservator of individual interests. It does not interfere to prevent a man from making what appears to be a bad investment. The result is, that having the right to build railroads when and where they choose, people cannot be driven to act precipitately, which they often do, when acting under a *special* charter, the rights which it confers being often forfeited by lapse of time. When they commence the construction of a road, they see that their only safety lies in placing it upon the best route, and building it at the lowest possible cost, as the only means of protecting their investment ; as mistakes in either particular will be sure to be corrected by another company, which will thus be able to maintain a successful competition. With perfect freedom therefore in the matter of railroad construction, the *first* road is pretty certain to be built with reference to the public wants, and at the lowest cost, which precludes the necessity for more than one, where with *special* charters there would certainly be *two*. Our view of the case is, we contend, not only supported by sound reasoning, but is proved by the experience of this country, where with the most liberal legislation we have but few *competing* roads.

To cease to legislate at all upon the subject of railroads will, in England, be thought to be a singular remedy for *abuses* of legislation, we have no doubt. But why not the proper one ? Would Englishmen think commerce would be the gainer by having Parliament yearly designate the number of ships that should be built, and who should have the privilege of building them ? Would not they say, "We know better what we want than a body of men who have no experience nor interest in commercial affairs ?" Should government assume to interfere in reference to *ships* as it does in reference to railroads, could a proper harmony be preserved between the wants of the public, and the means by which they are met ? Would not those who first got the right to build ships, think they had secured a valuable boon, and would they not be the less careful about their construction, and the economy with which they were built, than without such supposed boon, or protection ? Would they

not find in it an excuse for extravagance and inattention? Is not this always the case in similar matters? Does any business pay in the long run that is not conducted with express reference to the end to be gained? Would not outsiders, thinking favoured ones had secured some great advantage, besiege Parliament for similar grants? Having justice on their side they would in the end be sure to triumph, though at great cost to both parties. As soon as the latter had succeeded in securing their rights, would they not fall into the same indifference and extravagance as their predecessors; and would not the result be that in the end there would be twice as many ships as would be wanted, and would not those that were built be both costly, and badly managed, and but poorly adapted to the wants of commerce, and the ships themselves turn out to be ruinous investments? We think there is no one that will not assent to the above proposition. If it be correct, is not legislation just as inappropriate in reference to the construction of railroads as it is in reference to the construction of ships?

In the United States we have little to complain of on the score of *legislation*. In this respect consequently the parallel between the two countries does not hold. If Englishmen suffer from this cause, our people do not. We believe in the inherent incapacity of legislatures to direct or conduct successfully any *commercial* enterprise. The remedy for legislative abuses is not *more* legislation, but in none at all. It is *all* bad. The mistake consists in supposing that legislatures can be rendered *competent*. The thing is impossible. No legislative wisdom is a match for the instinct of self-interest on the part of the individual. The more our English brethren trust to *legislation*, the more involved in difficulties will they become. The remedy they seek has caused the disease, and will only aggravate the case.

As a result of our *non-legislative* policy, the railway interest of this country has, in the aggregate, suffered only slightly from *branch*, or *competing* roads, which have so reduced the value of railway property in Great Britain. There is another reason why we are without them, and this is, that most of the States have not reached that stage in the progress of railways in which the tendency to *branch*, or competing lines, manifests itself; they have not yet got through with their *trunk* lines. That a tendency to excess will manifest itself in railways, as it does in every pursuit, there is no doubt. But there is no reason for

believing, with a healthy sentiment prevailing, that this tendency should be more strongly felt in the construction of railroads than *ships*. In no department of industry can *supply* and *demand* be made to exactly harmonize. But occasional over-production does not prove that the particular branch of industry in which such excess occurs is not in the main profitable.

We think we have indicated the germ from which sprung many of the disasters which English railroads have suffered. We think that should a government attempt to control the construction of *ships*, the result would be what we have seen it to be in the case of railroads; and we do not believe that subjected to the same law by which other commercial enterprises are controlled, the construction of these works would be pushed to an extravagant and injurious excess. We cannot see why this should be the case. We do not see any necessity why men, wiser in other matters, should lose their capacity the moment they take up a railroad. The fault is not in the works themselves, but in erroneous principles which control their construction.

Although from a more correct system of legislation the railroads of this country are mainly free from many of the abuses from which English railroads have suffered, this fact by no means proves that railroad property in this country is not in jeopardy from the operation of other causes common to the systems of both countries, the most important of which is *the inability of stock and bond holders to exercise a personal oversight of the expenditure of their money*.

We will illustrate this point.

We will take for this purpose a railroad in an agricultural district—the Syracuse and Binghamton—as a good case in point. This road of 80 miles was built at a cost, say, of 1,600,000 dollars. One half of this sum was furnished by some 2000 stockholders living on the line of the road. The work went forward under the daily inspection of nearly every stockholder—ninety-nine out of every hundred of whom had a pretty correct idea of the *cost* of the various items of construction.—As they furnished the means to build the road, every penny lost was so much out of their own pockets. Every stockholder, consequently, watched every movement of the directors as if they were men in his employ. Constituting a vigilance com-

mittee of two thousand, under their supervision, it was impossible that any thing abuse-like could be practised without being exposed. The fact that so large a body of men were interested, carries in favour of the road the whole sentiment of the community, so that no person would be tolerated in asking a greater sum for land, or material, than its *lowest* cash value. A whole people in this way became co-labourers to the same end. The result was, the road stands the stockholders at its *actual* cost. Now let us suppose a party of capitalists from New York had undertaken to build the road. None but themselves would have felt any interest in the result. The object of their immediate *employés* would be to get the most money for the least service, and to prolong the work as much as possible, as a means of keeping in employ. As they would be far removed from the eye of the owners of the road, they would naturally and inevitably give way to the universal tendency to indolence, inattention, and prodigality. And how would it be with the people on the line? Seeing that it was certain to be constructed, their sentiments in reference to it would undergo a complete change. Instead of doing every thing in their power to aid it, they do every thing to embarrass the operations of the company, provided by doing so they can make money out of them, by demanding exorbitant sums for what, under a different mode of construction, they would have cheerfully furnished gratuitously, or at low cost. The result would be that the road would cost 40,000 instead of 20,000 dollars, per mile. It would be easy to refer to illustrations of our statements, to roads that have cost 40,000 dollars, which might have been built for less than the Syracuse and Binghamton, but which excess is entirely due to the causes stated.

Here then is one explanation of the great waste of money in railroad construction, in this country, as in Great Britain. It is expended by parties who have no interest in the result, and beyond the inspection and observation of those who supply it. No corrective of extravagance, or imposition, in the shape of careful, intelligent, and shrewd stockholders to watch the expenditure of every penny, and the habits and capacity of every person employed, who stand ready to expose and correct every abuse that is discovered. The parties in interest may be a thousand miles from the theatre of the operations of the company;—busy in their counting-rooms, and in their ordinary

avocations; and the only time they direct a thought to their road, is when called upon for instalments on their subscriptions.

No one will deny that we have correctly described the causes of the difference between the cost of a road built by parties living upon its line, whose position gives them an opportunity to oversee the expenditure, and roads built by parties living at a distance. In the one case the road is built at the lowest possible cost. In the other at perhaps *twice* its cost. We ask whether similar results do not follow similar premises in every department of industry? No business is ever profitable unless under the most careful supervision of the parties in interest. Such a relation is necessary to success in all cases. Suppose a manufacturer of steam-engines, living in New York, to carry on his business at Chicago by means of *agents*, of whose capacity and honesty he knows nothing, and who gives no other attention to his establishment than to pay the calls of his agents for money. Would such a person succeed against the competition of parties who take the immediate supervision of their affairs?—the question does not require an answer. Now railroads are precisely like any other commercial and manufacturing enterprise. To ensure success the same training, intelligence, capacity, and attention is necessary, and eminent success is never achieved in any department of industry, without the possession and exercise of all these qualities.

In the management of railroads people fall into an error in supposing that their affairs can be conducted in the same manner as those of other companies. As banking and manufacturing establishments preceded railroads, the modes of operating of the former have been transferred to the latter, and as the former have been usually successful, it was supposed that the latter, under a similar administration, would be equally so. Here is a grand mistake from which railroads have suffered. The duties of most agents and *employés* in banking and manufacturing establishments are merely *ministerial*, involving only a slight exercise of skill or discretion. The only way an *employé* in a *Bank* can make away with the funds of the institution, is to *steal* them. He has certain duties to perform, which cannot be shirked, nor done only in the proper manner, without his being exposed. The same is the case in manufacturing establishments, with this difference, that in most of such,

the *pay* of the *employé*, or operative, is in proportion to the labour he performs. But to perform in a proper manner the simplest duty on a railroad requires training, skill, constant attention and watchfulness, and integrity. The track of the road must be maintained in perfect order, or an accident involving the destruction of life and property is inevitable. The engine-driver should be thoroughly versed in *physics*, to understand the qualities and the capacity of *matter* for the service it is called upon to perform. He is constantly working the material, of which his engine, and the superstructure of the road is composed, very nearly up to the limit of its capacity for resistance. If he pass the *boundary*, he destroys both. The locomotive is a most complicated machine, which, with indifferent management may be destroyed in a few months, but in the hands of a competent person, will last as many years. There is hardly a person employed by any company in whose capacity and integrity the safety of a large amount of property is not involved. Even when there is a disposition on the part of the servants of a company to discharge their duties, the want of capacity may be fatal to success. When we ascend from the mere details of operating a railroad, the highest order of ability is necessary to conduct the relations that the road sustains to the *public*; to develop its business; to inspire and maintain the general confidence in the value of its securities. The success of a railroad may depend upon the popular estimation in which it is held; especially when it requires the popular support in the matter of its finances.

Qualities, therefore, fitted to conduct successfully a banking or manufacturing establishment, may be entirely inadequate to the superintendence of a railroad. To be fitted for filling the place of president of a road, requires experience and ability in financial affairs; a thorough knowledge of the operations of railroads, of the cost of transportation of the different classes of passengers and freight, and of the route and tendency of trade and commerce. He must be able to form an accurate judgment of all the *employés* on the road. He must possess great administrative talent, and command the obedience and respect of all his subordinates. The superintendent should have all the qualities last described, and an intimate and practical acquaintance with every branch of service on the road. All the subordinates should be men of integrity, industry, and experi-

ence in their duties, and of more than ordinary capacity, as the humblest *employé* on a road fills a place where a defective judgment, or unfitness for his duties, may cost the company fifty times his wages.

We have described the requisites to the proper management of a railroad. We should like to be shown a company where they are possessed even in a tolerable degree. We should like to be shown a road where a majority of the persons employed were selected for the qualities they possessed. It too often happens that the leading officers on roads seek their places, not for the purpose of advancing the interests of the Company, but of promoting private ends. The subordinates are the *protégés* of rich stockholders, whose wishes the president or superintendent has not the firmness to resist, or whose good-will it is desirable to secure against the *next election*. So little are the qualifications necessary to fit a man to be useful on a railroad understood, that large holders of the stock and securities of a company, will solicit places in it for friends or dependents, in cases where the harm that such a person may do to the Company, will cost the very persons who secured to him his place more than it would to support him out of their own purse.

We are particular to enumerate the qualifications necessary to be possessed by the managers and *employés* of a well-conducted railroad, for the purpose of showing that because a man has earned a good reputation as a lawyer, merchant, doctor, farmer, or banker, it is no evidence that he is fit to take charge of a railroad. And here is one of the weak spots in the system. An eminent banker, for example, is placed at the head of a railroad. The public are in an ecstasy of satisfaction that so distinguished a man has taken charge of their favourite enterprise. Every thing will go on well hereafter. "Hon. Mr. So-and-so's previous honourable and successful career is full guarantee for the success of the road." Of course such a man is allowed full swing. Hon. Mr. So-and-so is a very upright man, who has made a huge fortune by "operating in stocks." But the operating a railroad is as great a mystery to him as would be a table for the calculations of "embankments and excavations." If money is wanted he can supply it, which is all he is fitted to do. Having not the slightest practical experience in any grade of service on the road, he has neither the capacity of making proper selections of subordinates, nor of



knowing whether he is well or poorly served. The more such a man assumes to act the worse very likely for the Company.— But the probability is that he will really do nothing. He cannot give up a pressing and lucrative business for something in which he has only a remote and contingent interest. However well disposed he may be, he cannot discharge his duties, simply because he does not understand them. The result is that but little is accomplished, and what is done is badly done; the public all the while imagining that their affairs are going on swimmingly, and being as much puzzled as their president, when they find how slight is the progress that has been made. Their money has gone, without any thing to show for it, and without any one being directly chargeable for the loss.

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#### RAILWAY MORALS AND RAILWAY POLICY.

*From the American Railroad Journal, for December 2, 1854.*

We give this week the balance of the article upon Railway Morals and Railway Policy from the Edinburgh Review; and continue our own upon the same subject.

We showed last week, we think, that our railroads, from the absence of *legislative* interference, have escaped a *part* of the disasters and losses which British railroads have suffered. In this country the construction of railroads is, by law in many of the States, and practically in all, open to general competition, as much as are any other commercial enterprises. Railroad companies neither look to government for favours, nor are they subject to any burdens not common to all kinds of property. Those engaged in their construction act under the influence of no artificial stimulus supplied by the State; and, as far as legislation is concerned, are in no greater danger of pushing to excess the construction of railroads, than of ships, or any of the various branches of manufacturing.

Our works therefore rest upon the solid foundation of individual interests and individual instincts, and our people are influenced in their construction by precisely the same motives by which they are actuated in any similar pursuit. We speak

now of governmental interference. We attach great importance to their exemption from it. Theoretically, we think it easy to show that any interference in their construction or management, except to promote their own advantage, and to guard the rights and safety of the public, is mischievous. We have only to refer to the experience of English railways in full proof of our positions.

We showed too, we think satisfactorily, that the waste and misconduct in the *construction* of railroads is owing to the fact that those who furnish the *means* do not oversee its *expenditure*. We have only to refer to numerous illustrations in confirmation of our views. Now as the construction of most of our roads has been supervised by the parties most interested, their *first* cost has not been exorbitant. Such of them as have not been cramped for money, have come from the hands of the constructor at what must be considered a fair cost. We speak now of the aggregate. There is no reason why this should not be so. Competition among contractors brings down prices to the lowest remunerating point; and training and experience enable them to do work at one-half the cost to a company. The construction of a railroad is a simple affair, compared with the working of it; and no matter what difficulties are involved in the former, *experts* are always found equal to any emergency. There are no reasons therefore but gross dishonesty, or incompetency on the part of the engineer, why a penny should be wasted in construction.

We also stated in the preceding article, that our people had not reached that stage in the progress of railroads in which the tendency to *branch* or *competing* lines manifests itself to any great extent. Our people have been too busily occupied with legitimate, to waste much money on *illegitimate* projects. This is a very important fact in estimating the value of railroad property in this country. The great majority of our railroads in progress, or construction, was called for. Our people have been properly employed, and the conviction that they were so, contributed not a little to success. It operated as a *talisman* to shield them from harm. Give to a man, or a body of men, a conviction that they are pursuing the proper path to a laudable end, and this conviction becomes a higher principle of action, raises them above the influence of selfish aims, or gratification, and renders them cheerful, industrious and vigilant co-workers to a.

common result. The *end* gives character to, and renders efficient the *means*. But where no useful end can be seen, men at once become demoralized, and the first care is to serve themselves. Imagine *employés* on a railroad to believe that the work will prove an entire failure, that all the money expended in its construction will be lost, will they not feel that it would be much better if a *part* of the money could go into their *own* pocket, than to lie in an useless embankment? Would they not become indolent when they saw that their labour produced nothing useful, and cease to feel pride or interest in a work with which they foresaw their names would appear in disgraceful association? All these things are equally true of persons employed in a railroad, as in any other business or calling. Most of our roads fortunately have been projects that have called into exercise the better sentiment, which many of the English roads have failed to do. Hence the low cost and better management of our own compared with the high cost and management of the former. We speak now of our *present* success. Our people thus far, fortunately, have been engaged upon legitimate objects which have been pursued by legitimate means. But our danger is a mere matter of *time*. We are fast approaching the period in the progress of railroads in which our works will be subject to the same influences that have overwhelmed English roads. These roads commenced with bright promises. *They* were successful till the appropriate theatre for their construction was exhausted. The evil day came when the object in the construction of a railroad ceased to be that of a cheap, well-managed and useful work, but the money that could be made out of the *process* of construction.

The low cost of *American* roads is proof that most of them have been constructed under *favourable* conditions. It is a great mistake to suppose that the greater cost of *English roads* is owing to the greater amount of work involved in their construction. We have in this country a much better standard of engineering than in England. The great aim of American engineers is to secure the greatest returns on the investments. The construction of many of our more important lines is due to the skill of the engineer, among which may be named the Atlantic and St. Lawrence, and the Baltimore and Ohio, the routes of both of which presented great difficulties, which have been surmounted by consummate skill. With *ordinary* engineering neither road

could have been built. Only so much money could be raised for each. The fact that the means of our people are so disproportioned to works, for the construction of which there is felt to be an imperative necessity, compels them to practise economy, and to supply, as far as possible, by expedients, the lack of capital. There is no doubt that an American engineer will accomplish vastly more with an equal amount of money than an English engineer. The latter cannot be made to feel the necessity for economy that is felt in this country. He knows that in Great Britain there is money enough for any work that may be undertaken, and acts upon this idea. One of our best engineers just returned from England informed us, that he made a critical examination of several roads of that country, for the purpose of comparing their *nominal* cost, and the amount of work involved, with our own. Among others was the London and Bristol, which is exactly the length of the Western Railroad of Massachusetts—157 miles. He states that the *apparent* cost of the Western is vastly greater, while its capital account is not one-half that of the English road. In other words, had the Western been an English work, it would have cost 150,000 dollars per mile, instead of 63,000 dollars. It should be remembered too, that labour and iron in this country are at least 60 per cent. higher than in Great Britain. The graduation of our roads is done almost entirely by labour imported from that country.

The proper test of successful engineering is the *result*. An engineer who builds a road that pays 8 per cent. upon its cost, with structures which though cheap and unpretending, protect and preserve property and supply the necessary accommodation to the traveller, is much better entitled to be called *successful*, than one who sacrifices the earnings of a road to magnificent erections, or to ornament without use. The first object to be gained is to make the road useful and *profitable*. After these conditions are satisfied, *ornament* may follow. In this country we consult the practical. Another reason why we expend *less* upon our roads, is, because the general standard of architecture is lower. The style of the structures on a railroad is regulated by the best illustrations, or ideas, which prevail in the community where such railroad is located. But *ornament* is so much capital sunk, and should always be proportioned to the earnings of a road. In the United States, from the equality which prevails, the structures of our roads correspond to the average for the country.

The expenditure ceases when this point is reached. Our stations, consequently, are not imitations of baronial castles, nor are the accommodations furnished above what the average of the community enjoy. There may be an *aesthetic* value in the castle, as a beautiful illustration of art. But it is not the province of railroad companies to become instructors in architecture. Their only object should be *money-making*.

Our roads cost much less than English railroads, because we make our expenditures in reference to a different standard. Ours is a *practical*; theirs, an *ideal* one. In this country those who earn the money, the labouring classes, fix the standard. In England, those who *spend* it. Here lies the difference. A grand castle is a grand affair, but it is poor property. In England many of the railroads are grand affairs, but equally poor property. Ours are less pretending; but most of them have the merit of paying well on their cost.

We are aware that this will be thought by some to be a far-fetched argument, but it appears to us to be sound, nevertheless. Certain it is that we attempt nothing on the grand scale that we see in England. A good illustration of the different ideas which prevail in the two countries, is the *Victoria Bridge* now in progress over the St. Lawrence River, at Montreal, for the accommodation of the Grand Trunk Railroad. An American engineer would have recommended a *wooden* superstructure, making the whole cost of the bridge about 1,000,000 dollars. In fact, responsible contractors have offered to build such a bridge for 800,000 dols. A further sum of 500,000 dols., put out at interest, would maintain the bridge for ever, making a total cost of, say, 1,500,000 dols. But the construction of the Grand Trunk is an illustration of English ideas transferred to this country. A wooden bridge for such a great work was too frail a structure. One must be built upon the model of the *Britannia*, of iron, at an estimated cost of 7,500,000 dols., to go probably to 10,000,000 dols. ! Now a wooden bridge would serve every *useful* end of an *iron* one. Here then are 6,000,000 dols. to be sacrificed to carry out the English way of doing things, which amount might as well have been thrown into the sea. We do not hesitate to say, that no engineer of reputation in the United States would recommend the bridge that the Grand Trunk Co. are constructing. He would feel certain, if he did, it would be the last time his opinion would be called for. If the bridge be

come a part of the Grand Trunk scheme it will very nearly ruin it. The whole travel to pass over it would hardly justify the expenditure of the sum first named.

We have dwelt upon this branch of the subject for the purpose of giving as distinct a notion as possible of the *rationale* of the American mode of constructing railroads and explaining their low cost, compared with those of most countries, particularly of Great Britain, with which we usually contrast our roads.

We believe that, on the whole, the money expended on the railroads in this country has been *well* expended. It has produced the results predicated both in their income, and in the development of the resources of the country. Their earnings are justifying public expectation and the representations of the companies. In cases where the income to be derived from them was a secondary consideration, they have realized all the expected results. That there has been much misdirected effort, and a great deal of money wasted, there is no doubt, but could we compromise past errors by purchasing exemption for the future we should pronounce our success *complete*.

Having pointed out the causes that have led us successfully thus far, we now return to the danger to which the railroad interest and the public are exposed, and proceed to indicate, as far as possible, the tests which distinguish *legitimate* from *illegitimate* projects, and to point out the reforms, and that system of management necessary to secure success after our roads come into use.

To distinguish a legitimate from an illegitimate project, we must look in the first place to the parties who are engaged in their construction. A road is built with one of two objects; the income to be derived from it, with its *incidental* advantages, or the money that is to be made out of the *process* of construction. Those who are to derive the *incidental* advantages, are the parties living upon its line. It is their interest to have it built as cheaply as possible; as the less it cost, the less will commerce and travel be taxed. If they supply the means, they will take good care that they are not wasted, and their position gives them the opportunity to oversee its proper expenditure. Now, however much our people desire railroads, they are very careful not to put their money into one that does not promise to pay *well*. Where the people on the line of a railroad furnish the means for its construction, this fact is good indication :—

1st, That there being sufficient strength on the line of a road to furnish a considerable portion of the means for its construction ; there is a sufficient development of the country to support it.

2nd, That the parties supplying the money, having an opportunity to superintend its expenditure, the road will be economically built ; and as long as it remains in *first* hand, will be well managed.

Where, on the other hand, a road is taken up by parties living *off* its line the inference is :—

1st, That such parties not being incidentally benefited by such road, their object is to make money out of the *process* of construction : the road in such cases instead of being built economically, is built as expensively as possible, (as represented by the amount of stock and securities issued,) the object being to impose such securities upon the public ; or,

2nd, That such parties not having any oversight of the expenditure of the money, the road will of necessity be built at high cost and badly managed.

Where parties, living *off* the line of a railroad, engage in its construction ; and where the object is to make money in its construction, of course, they are exceedingly desirous that the road should *pay* well on its cost, as a means of carrying up the price of the securities which are their *profits*.

Now, if all purchasers of securities would buy only such as are sanctioned by the tests given above, we should have few or no useless roads. As before stated our people will not put their own money to any considerable amount into roads that do not promise to *pay* ; especially will they not do this, when they are not in a position to derive any *incidental* advantage arising from them. Where a project is taken by parties living at a distance, the inference is almost irresistible that either there is no money in it, or that its stock and debts will represent a much larger sum than its cost. Such a view of the case is sanctioned not only by common sense, but is fully supported by *facts*. When, therefore, the securities of a railroad are offered for sale, the first thing to be asked for is the list of stockholders. If they live upon its line, and have taken stock in the road because they need it, and if such subscription represent the collective strength of the community, and be sufficient to furnish one-half of the cost of the road, they show that there is a population ade-

quate to its support, and that the means will be properly expended. The purchaser of the bonds issued under *such* circumstances, possesses all possible guarantees of safety, as a large interest must be sacrificed, before he can be injured. Where, on the other hand, a railroad is built to *make* money, the amount actually expended may have been only a small proportion to its capital account. The purchasers may get two dollars *bonus*, to one dollar in money, and will soon find the whole concern on their hands, at twice its cost, provided the getters up of the scheme are sufficiently adroit to *float* it upon the public. But the mischief does not end here. The parties who come into possession of the road, retired capitalists, banking or insurance companies, widows, orphans, &c., &c., live, perhaps, a thousand miles from the road, and have neither the capacity nor opportunity to look after its management, which has to be done by proxy; and the road, whatever its merits may be, as we have shown, prove unproductive from the causes stated.

The ability of a people to build a railroad is the test of their ability to furnish a business sufficient to its support. Where they have not yet reached such a degree of strength, it is much more for the interest of such community to postpone the construction of such work, than to allow it to go into the hands of speculators, which will result in a road at *double* cost, imposing a perpetual tax upon them, in the shape of double charges for transportation.

An adherence to the above tests will not only prevent the construction of roads that will not *pay*, but would limit construction to the ability of the country to build and sustain them. It would produce a healthy state of affairs. It would keep within reasonable limits a *credit* system, the tendency of which, in a country like our own, is constantly to excess. It would render uniform a progress which is now desultory. It would enable us to achieve as great results as we now witness, and avoid the drawbacks that mar our success. It would be the means of checking a vast amount of commercial distress, which is always attended by a certain amount of moral delinquency.

By confining the construction of railroads within proper limits, a double good would be accomplished. We should only have *paying* roads, and escape the greater part of the dangers to which they are subject. The parties fitted to build them econo-



mically, are the very persons to manage them in the same manner. In such an event the management of railroads would remain in the hands of those, who, from their interest, position, means of observation and integrity, are just the parties to conduct them.

The railroad system in this country is not without striking illustrations of the correctness of our last position. Among the more notorious of these are the Vermont Central, the Rutland, and the Ogdensburgh. These works were projected, and the means for their construction furnished, by the merchants and capitalists of Boston. Their aim was to enlarge the area of the trade of that city, *not* to make money in building them, which renders them all the better proofs of the points assumed.

In all of the above cases a *double* fault was committed. The roads were built upon the *idea* that they could be made the outlet to tide water of the products of the interior. In building any road, it is hardly ever safe to make an *hypothesis* the basis of an expenditure. Nothing should be taken into consideration but a traffic which can be proved to exist on the line of the road, especially when the *hypothetical* business has been accustomed to take *other* channels. It is now plain to see why the *through* business of the above roads is not remunerative. It should have been equally evident to their projectors. To attract *new* business, it has to be carried without profit, if not at an actual loss, for the reason that there are *cheaper* routes between the same termini. In anticipation of a business which is done without profit, an enormous expenditure was incurred which the *local* traffic by no means justified. In addition the cost of the roads for the reasons already enumerated has exceeded all reasonable limit. All these causes combined have rendered them the most striking failures of the kind in the United States. Had their projectors reckoned only upon local traffic, the result would have been very different; the roads would either have not been built, or their objects and means would have been carefully adapted to the business of their routes.

If roads, where the aim throughout has been *economy* in construction, have proved disastrous failures, from the reasons enumerated, how much greater will be the disaster, where the chief object in construction is to make money, which can only be done by creating a *nominal* capital much greater than the cost of the road.

## RAILWAY MORALS AND RAILWAY POLICY.

*From the American Railroad Journal, for December 9, 1854.*

In the last two numbers of the Journal we endeavoured to present the *rationale* upon which the railroad system of this country is based. We showed their low cost to be due to causes peculiar to this country; to a wise legislation; to more correct ideas as to their uses and objects; to a better standard of engineering; to the fact that the parties who are to be benefited by them superintend their construction; to the corrective influence of public opinion, which enforces faithfulness and economy. Necessity has rendered us an eminently practical people. We transfer this training to our railroads. But our government partakes of the infirmity of all governments, and had it undertaken to construct our railroads, their cost would not have fallen much short of that of English roads. Had their construction been superintended by persons, whose habits and ideas sprung from the relations they have sustained to Government, or to the privileged classes, the result would have been the same. Persons acting under such influences have no proper notion of the value of money, or of that economy necessary to secure a return upon its outlay. They execute the works assigned them according to their ideal, of which *cost* is no element, nor *despatch* a measure of success. Such persons feeling that nothing is to be gained by economy and diligence, give way to the natural tendency to sloth and extravagance. Our people, fortunately, have been governed in the construction of their works by a wiser principle. Railroads have been treated precisely as other commercial enterprises, in which not a penny can be wasted without being felt in dividends. We suppose at least one-third of the capital invested in English railroads has been lost. Still people wonder why they are not remunerative. The cause is palpable. A ship, that by extravagance has cost 100,000 dollars loses money, while an equally valuable one, at a cost of 50,000 dollars, would prove very good property. In commercial enterprises money that is wasted can never form the basis of production. When once lost it can never be recalled. This fact more than all others should be kept constantly in

mind. It is true that there are cases of great waste in this country which apparently do not affect the earnings of the roads. The reason is that we do not see how much greater such earnings would have been, with economy. There is another reason why railroads can for a time bear a much greater waste in their construction than *other* enterprises. There are no other in which capital can exact so large a return. A railroad constructed through an agricultural district of the United States, adds immediately at least five-fold its cost to the value of the property of such district. An agency that is so potent in creating values, may properly ask to share a portion of the gain due to its instrumentality. Money, therefore, properly expended in railroads in this country, yields a better return than the *average* of other investments, and even if a considerable part of its cost be wasted, still for several years, the road, from a monopoly it may happen to enjoy, and from its immense influence in creating values, may yield a tolerable income on its excessive cost. But large profits lead to competition. Railroads economically built and well managed, the owners of which are content if they receive six per cent. on their cost, come in competition with those built at an extravagant cost, which must regulate their charges by those that come after them, and in losing the monopoly they once enjoyed, they lose with it the capacity to pay dividends. No kind of investment open to all, yields in the long run more than the common rates of interest. Capital steadily flows in the direction of profit till the *minimum* is reached; and often, the influence of a large profit in the outset, leads to an over-investment, which will not produce even the ordinary rates. Our railroads ought, in the outset, to pay better than other works, but they soon become amenable to the law of "supply and demand," and their profits are regulated by precisely the same law that governs other investments. If people want a steady income, they must not waste a penny in construction, and be content in the commencement with the same rate of returns that they are willing to receive for years.

We believe the money that has gone into our railroads has been invested in conformity with the principles laid down, and that, consequently, these works *can* be made productive, if our people are as wise for the future as they have been for the past. Of course, we do not mean to assert that all our roads will earn dividends upon their *stock*. Many of them have been

constructed rather with reference to the incidental advantages that are anticipated, than from expectation of a *direct* revenue from them. Where the people of Indiana have subscribed one dollar to a railroad, they have benefited five-fold by its construction. The advantage is not remote and contingent, but *direct*; so that, should the stocks of their roads never receive a dividend, they would be vastly the gainers, notwithstanding. It is those who have contributed money to our roads, and who derive no *incidental* advantage from them, that suffer from failure to *pay*. We make this distinction, as an explanation for the low prices of many of our stocks, and for the purpose of showing that their depression does not prove a loss of a corresponding amount of capital. If our new roads can meet promptly the interest on their debts, and provide for their ultimate payment, our people have achieved a vast success. But the stocks of a number of our roads will yield a better income than the interest on the bonds.

We also, in our last, pointed out the dangers to which our people are exposed in new works, undertaken to make money out of the *process* of construction, and indicated some tests by which these works might be distinguished from such as are *legitimate*. We stated that we have just reached the period in the progress of railroads, when the tendency to competing, branch, or useless lines manifests itself. It follows the closing up of our *useful* works. This tendency has received a thorough check for the present, in the recent reverse in monetary affairs, and the general unpopularity of railroad investments. Before this tendency shall again have an opportunity to manifest itself, our people will have come to a better knowledge of the cost, management, and productiveness of these works. They will then have the experience of the *past* to guide them. It is most fortunate, on many accounts, that the moment our system has reached an apparently healthy limit in many of the States, the further construction of any but lines of unquestioned prosperity should be rendered impossible by *borrowing*. Before any great mistake has been committed, time is allowed to await the result of past effort. That experience will teach wisdom for the future, we have no doubt. For the real good of our railroads, the present stringency could not have happened at a better time.

It is in the *management* of our railroads, that our great peril lies. We have escaped many of the evils from which English

railroads have suffered. But after our railroads come into operation, the principles and motives that control their *management* in the two countries more nearly assimilate. In both cases the inherent selfishness of human nature is the same. If there be any difference in this respect, it is one of *degree*, not of kind. There is the same tendency in both countries on the part of the owners of railroad property, to indifference and carelessness as to its management; the same difficulty in securing the services of competent officials; the same temptations to dishonesty or unfaithfulness. These are vices that belong to no parallels of latitude, and which are peculiar to no political organization. They are universal. It is on our exemption from them that the success of our roads must depend.

The first condition to success is *intelligent* management. This, in a great measure, could be secured through the medium of properly prepared *reports*, detailing the experience of our railroad companies. For the want of such, each company is forced to go through the same process of education, often at great expense, to arrive at truths which have been long solved by other companies. Let a discovery be made in any branch of mechanical science, or in the mode of conducting elaborate business operations, and the press instantly diffuses the intelligence from one end of the country to the other. In this manner, the highest intelligence and training at once becomes the property, and soon the experience, of the noviciate. Every superior man, in this way, becomes an instructor, and the press the medium of his teachings. Under a similar system of instruction, society moves forward at a rate that far exceeds all former experience. But in railroad management the parallel ceases. Most of our railroad companies are *dumb*. Reports, if made at all, are only the baldest statements, showing that so much money has been received, and so much paid out. Any thing really instructive rarely finds place in their columns. What is valuable and peculiar in the management of the Erie never travels across the Hudson river to enlighten its neighbour on the opposite bank, which in consequence plods along for years in the old path, wasting as it goes. Whatever of light is developed by the Hudson River Road benefits that alone. What we have stated of these roads is mainly true of the whole country. The Erie Company have never made but one *valuable* report, and the Hudson River Road none at all. We suppose

that the experience of both, if known, would prove very valuable in the management of other roads, the more so, in proportion to the time they have been in operation. Both companies ought to be able to give us the ratio that the expense of maintaining a road bears to the speed of the trains. The Erie ought to tell us the relative cost of the passenger and freight movement; the cost of transportation of different kinds of freight; the most fruitful sources of accidents and the means adopted for their prevention; the system of administration by which the road is worked; the means by which responsibility, efficiency, and punctuality are secured; the improvements that have been effected in the working of the road, or in the machinery; the conditions upon which each is worked with the greatest economy; *in fine*, the entire system of management. If the road be well managed it has certainly much that is new and valuable to communicate. So in the office of the company. What is the mode by which their accounts are kept, and all the complicated operations of the company simplified and classified under their appropriate heads. It cannot be doubted that many companies, from the want of experience, or of proper examples, suffer a heavy loss in the manner of conducting their business operations, which might be saved, had they the benefit of the best standards of management which prevail. Instead of a hundred different, and many of them vicious systems, there would be but *one*, and that the *best*. All these advantages are lost by the silence of our companies upon all proper topics.

Again, full and detailed reports are the best possible safeguard against improvident, incompetent, or dishonest management. The stockholders would then know what the directors are about. Suppose the construction of a railroad or some new work be undertaken. The stockholders should always insist upon an exact statement of what is proposed to be done, of the cost of the work, and the means applicable to it. Suppose at the end of the year, the estimates are found to be entirely at fault, that the work has cost twice as much as it was supposed; such discrepancy should always be taken as evidence of incompetency or dishonesty. Their previous estimates at once convict the offending parties. The public have had enough of estimates that bear no kind of relation to the result, to tolerate them longer. As soon as directors and engineers found that they would be held to a rigid accountability, they would strain every

nerve to make good their statements. But how is it now? In a great majority of cases, no plan of operations is presented to the stockholders and nothing from which any estimate can be inferred of the ultimate cost of the road. The directors, consequently, go blundering along, inventing as they go some apology or excuse in case they fail to justify public expectation. No tangible point is presented upon which issue can be taken, and consequently incompetent persons remain for a long time in important positions from which they would have been ejected upon the first reckoning day, had it been known what they had been doing. Every thing in the management of railroad companies should be as open and patent as the day. There should be no dark secluded spot in which dishonesty or incompetency can seek immunity. The New Haven Railroad is a notable instance of the effect of secret and irresponsible management. Had Mr. Schuyler admitted himself interested in the contract for the road, he would probably have been early ejected from the direction. Had detailed statements been made of the cost of the different items of construction, the stockholders would have seen that they were paying twice as much for work as it was worth. Had the arrangements which were made with other companies been notorious, the directors would, without doubt, have been overhauled a long time ago. Had the directors required the usual annual statement for 1853, the frauds of Mr. Schuyler would have been prevented entirely, or nipped in the bud, and the company saved from ruin.

We repeat, that the *first* step toward the successful management of railroads, are full and frequent statements detailing the entire transactions of our companies. Such statements will *not* be made without due consideration. They are a public exhibition of the acts of the directors, or managing parties, and when a man appears before the public, he will endeavour to propitiate its good opinion. He is received with favour, only under the idea that he is what he appears to be,—competent and honest. The very fact forces him to be competent and honest. He can only sustain himself by justifying expectation: otherwise he forfeits both favour and his place. Suppose the same person were allowed to go on for years without ever being called to account: he would be a miracle of honesty, industry, and principle, did he not become lax in his notions, indolent, and indifferent to his duties. Suppose him to be dishonest; before

his character is discovered, he may have completely sapped the company or institution of which he was an officer. Men of doubtful character are often kept straight by the force of public opinion. They may have too much policy to sin, if they see exposure to be inevitable. We do not believe that Mr. Schuyler would ever have committed his frauds, had it not been for the Norwalk accident. Not that he would have been restrained by *principle*, but because he could not have done so without immediate exposure. The losses sustained by that accident placed it beyond the power of the company to pay a dividend for a year or two. Till one should be paid, he supposed nothing to occur to direct attention to his conduct. In the outset he undoubtedly intended to cancel all his issues. The payment of a dividend would have at once discovered the fraud, and the certainty of discovery would have prevented its commission.

Again, the best intention to serve a company may be accompanied by utter incompetency. To be corrected, this incompetency must first be made known. Companies ought to compel reports from their officials, at short notices, for this reason alone. Another grand advantage of a report is the fact, that immediately upon its publication, whatever it contains is compared with the best standard of management, and its defects immediately pointed out. A mirror is thus held up, in which the delinquent sees his own mistakes compared with the better conduct of others. He must reform or be disgraced. Every report would provoke the criticism of the community, and in this manner develop and make public the best ideas which prevail. Where, on the other hand, a company goes to sleep, the public go to sleep with them; and when any catastrophe happens, they only wonder at the result, but are unable to discover the cause, or point out the remedy.

The publication of the system of management of railroads has a tendency not only to render *employés* faithful, but educates the public mind up to the capacity to judge whether they are well or badly conducted. Intelligence must exist before public opinion can exert its corrective force. And with a sound sentiment, there is no reason why a road should ever be badly managed. There is no inherent difficulty in the matter. To be understood, the subject of railroad management must be studied; to be studied the public must have access to information, to whatever experience has developed. The reports of every



company should be the mirror of its internal organization and management. These reports should annually go into the hands of every stock and bondholder, and, in a few years, a vigilance committee would be found in every company, embracing every person having a pecuniary interest in the success of the road. The advice and opinion of *such* a committee would point out a path of duty from which the managing parties could not deviate.

A knowledge of the best system would lead to the general adoption of the best principles or routine of management. A great cause of the waste is in the fact, that many companies have no adequate system according to which their affairs are managed. The impulse or caprice of the day controls the acts of the day. There is nothing that stockholders or directors of a road are so apt to overlook, as the importance of conducting its affairs according to certain fixed rules or principles. When a person buys into a banking company, he takes for granted that its affairs will be conducted upon the acknowledged principles of *sound* banking. Most banks are conducted in this manner, and are successful. The *failure* is the exception. When a person buys into a railroad, does he feel assured that its affairs will be conducted upon the best standard of management that is known? By no means. In fact he does not himself know what such standard is. He consequently invests upon his faith in the *reputation* of the managing parties. Now, there is no more fallacious standard. The reputation of being a good business-man, and the capacity to conduct the complicated affairs of a railroad, may by no means reside in the same person. Faith in great names is a great absurdity, and is the source of more mistakes in making investments in railroads than all other things. Mr. So-and-so, the manager of a railroad, has had a highly honourable and successful career, and to question his integrity or capacity in any matter would be regarded as a serious insult; consequently he is deferred to, almost to the extent of servility. His own will becomes the rule of his conduct, and the road is sacrificed to a point of *etiquette*. Instead of this, no factitious consideration should be allowed the least influence. Nothing should be presumed in favour of any. All should be stretched upon the same iron bed. The test of merit should be the capacity to serve the public in the new vocation. Because a man has been successful in trade, has been a member

of Congress, or has commanded a regiment in the Mexican war, is no reason why his acts should be placed above suspicion or inquiry, nor why he should be allowed to preserve a mysterious silence in his various functions. Accountability in every department of management should be enforced in the most rigid manner, and neither titles nor reputation should sanction the employment of incompetent men, any more than a fine coat of *paint* should justify the use of an imperfect, or unsafe wheel, or axle, attached to a railroad car or locomotive.

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#### RAILWAY ECONOMY AND RAILWAY MORALS.

*From the American Railroad Journal, for December 16, 1854.*

Intelligence and integrity are the qualities necessary to a proper management of railroads. The former must be possessed by the *public*, as well as by the persons in charge of them. The public, or in other words, the *owners* of railroads, are the parties to be served, and are to direct the mode. The duties of those intrusted with the immediate management of roads are simply ministerial. Now every person is poorly served who does not know when he is *well* served. There are exceptions, but the rule is as stated. No matter how faithfully disposed, in the outset, the *employés* may be, they must feel that those who give them their places are able to judge whether they are well or poorly filled, or they will forget their obligations, to serve themselves. In every relation of life, the intelligence of the superior becomes that of the subordinate—becomes his principle of action, securing his respect, and faithful service. Such are the conditions of success in every enterprise requiring the co-operation of a large number of persons, and numerous grades of service. By the publication of the facts developed in the construction and management of railroads, the intelligence necessary to their proper management is gradually acquired by their owners. It can be acquired in no other manner. This is the reason why we have so steadily insisted upon the importance of the publication of full reports by railroad companies. In their publication is involved no less a problem than the success of our roads; for self interest will always direct intelligence to

its proper ends; and when the two co-exist, integrity is the product. It is of little avail to arouse the moral sentiment against bad management, if no substitute for such exist in the popular mind. The *sentiment* against bad management is strong enough in England, but this has been unable to effect the needed reforms. It is strong enough in this country, but it will not alone save our roads from disaster. No one among us wishes to see his own property, or that of his neighbour destroyed. He submits to the loss only because he cannot see any mode by which it can be avoided. So with our railroads. The numerous successful roads show that they possess no inherent vice, which renders success impossible. Other roads are unsuccessful—because they have not an equally intelligent management. The *reports* of a company, properly made, would soon disclose the character of its management; and if bad, would secure the needed reforms. The whole problem of success is consequently narrowed to one proposition.

In our last article, we stated with sufficient distinctness the information that reports should contain, and showed that the best examples of management would soon become the standard for every road in the country. We know no reason why any concealment should be practised. If the directors have misjudged, *their* feelings are not to be considered. Those of the stockholders should always exert a paramount influence. Yet how few companies ever make a clean breast of their transactions; of their entangling alliances, of the unlucky investments they have made, or enormous shaves to which they have submitted. These are withheld, either for the fear that the directors will be called to account, or that the stock or securities of the unlucky road may be affected. But if the directors of a company are incompetent, ought not the fact to be known at the earliest instant? If the value of a road be impaired, ought not the stockholders and the public to know it? Concealment only aggravates the evil. The indiscriminate and excessive fluctuations of railroad securities of all kinds show how much in the dark are the public, which has no firmer ground for conviction than conjecture. Now there is no reason why this should be so. The public mind would rest in a state of comparative repose, did it see things as they are. Its fluctuations in such case would only reflect a change in the actual value of the road.

While we must look to the development of a higher standard

of education and intelligence as the means of securing in the end competent management, there are certain rules, which though resting upon sufficient reasons not necessary to be developed at greater length, may be laid down as *axioms* in railway economy.

1st, No company should be allowed to exceed the scope, or depart from the articles of copartnership originally entered into, without the unanimous consent of the stockholders.

When a person goes into a company upon a well-defined agreement as to the objects in view, the majority have no right to violate that agreement. If they desire to introduce *new* articles, it is only just that they release, upon reasonable terms, the objecting party. Another advantage resulting from holding companies to the original propositions, is the fact, that companies so held will in the outset take very good care to provide for all future contingencies that may arise.

2nd, No road should be commenced till detailed and properly vouched estimates are prepared of its cost. Engineers should be made responsible for the correctness of their estimates. In such case we should have fewer examples of roads half completed, crushed for want of means.

3rd, Parties lending to railroad companies should do so only upon the basis of a sufficient *stock* subscription, obtained from those living upon the line of the road, or immediately interested in its proper construction or management. The management of a road should always reside with such parties as have the best opportunities to oversee it, and who must pay the penalty for bad management in the loss of their own property.

4th, The managing directors should receive an adequate and stipulated sum for their services entirely devoted to the company, should be held to the ordinary responsibility of agents, and should never be allowed to derive any *incidental* advantage from the position they hold.

5th, A strict accountability, the publication of every important act of every official, and semi-annual reports, which should be mirrors of the internal organizations and operations of a company, should be rigorously exacted.

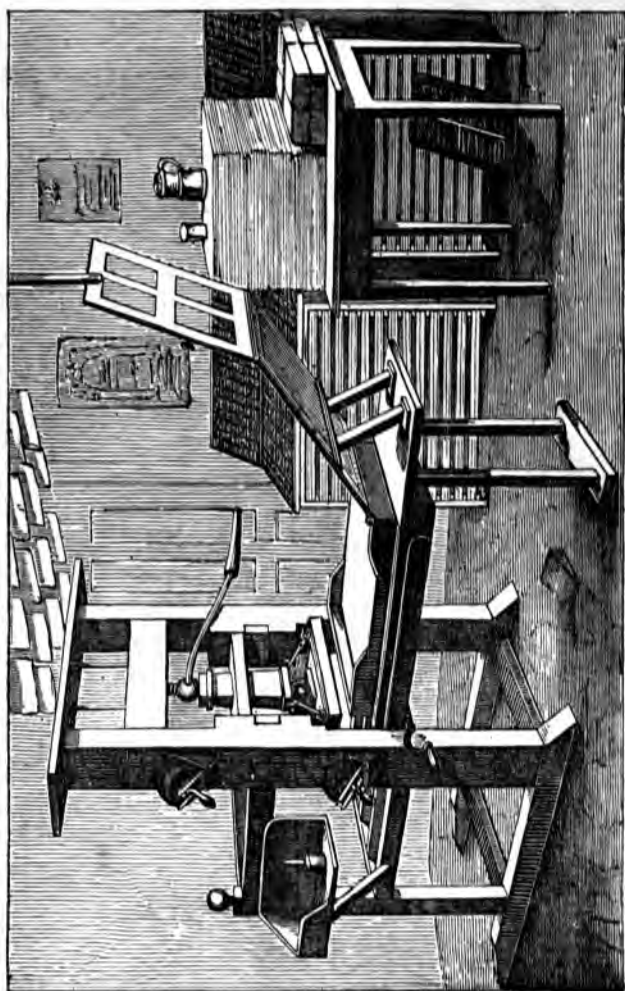
6th, We think, too, that the stockholders of every company should possess a source of information independent of the directors. At each annual meeting, the stockholders should choose, say, three of their number, who, without having any voice in the management of the road, should have access to the books of the company, to all the acts and agreements of the directors, to all sources of information that may enable them to form an opinion as to the policy of the directors, and the management of the road, and report, if they see cause, to the stockholders, at the annual meeting, as well as at other times. We would have this committee appointed, so that the *minority* should be heard, which could be done by allowing no stockholder to vote for more than one of the committee, and by making such committee consist of the three persons having the highest number of votes. As matters now go, a bare majority control the entire interest in a road, allowing the minority no rights or voice in the management. Now, while the majority must exert a paramount authority, this is no evidence that they are competent to conduct a road

properly, or that the minority have no right, or are capable of rendering no service or useful suggestion. The latter ought to have the right of examination, and remonstrance, if nothing more. Suppose such a committee be appointed by the stockholders of the Hudson River, Erie, and Central roads of this State. Assuming all these roads to be well managed, it is more than probable that all suffer from defective management, or oversight in many important particulars. There are always two sides to a question, and when only one is presented partial views are the result. It may be that the policy of the majority is radically wrong, and needs only to be exposed to be corrected. Should companies neglect any step that can shed light upon and supply intelligence to its management?

We have in previous articles endeavoured to present the *rationale* of the railway system of this country; to point out the more important dangers to which it is exposed, and the means by which they are to be avoided. If we are correct in our views, and have suggested useful means of reform, we hope to have the support of those interested, in securing their adoption. If we point out errors or abuses in their management, we hope to be effectually seconded by those most interested—the holders of the stock and bonds in our roads.

The most important fact which the foregoing articles develop, is one which confirms, in a quite unexpected manner, one of the writer's positions: namely, that the supposed need for an encouragement of railway extension is an illusion—that branches and feeders should be left to the ordinary laws of demand and supply; and would be better laid out, and more economically executed, if they were left until the accumulated interests to be subserved by them, sufficed to bring together an adequate capital. The fact that, in America, railways have been wholly left to ordinary trading principles, without any legislative limitation or control, (startling as it will be to most on this side the Atlantic,) proves conclusively how groundless is the argument offered in defence of our present system; namely, that it is needful for the due facilitation of railway extension.





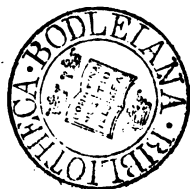
# PRINTING:

ITS

## ANTECEDENTS, ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND RESULTS.

BY ADAM STARK,

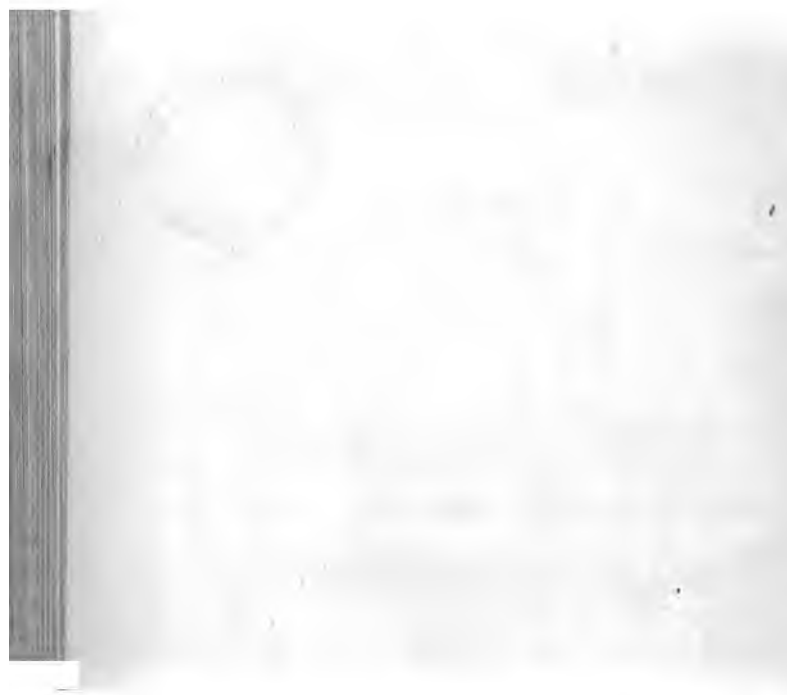
AUTHOR OF A "HISTORY OF THE BISHOPRIC OF LINCOLN," "THE HISTORY OF  
GAINSBURGH," ETC. ETC.



In times ere yet the Press had blest mankind,  
Perish'd unknown the noblest works of mind;  
O'er trackless wastes, whence science lent no ray,  
And cheerless climes, was genius doom'd to stray:  
His usefulness as bounded as his fame,  
His body death—oblivion seized his name;  
The eternal essence to its source return'd,  
Unfelt its blessings, and its loss unmourn'd.  
How changed the auspices of those who wait,  
In these our days at Fame's celestial gate!  
'Tis merit leads them through the sacred bound,  
Where flowers Elysian deck the holy ground,  
'Till Printing rose.—M'CREEK'S Press.

LONDON:  
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.  
1855.





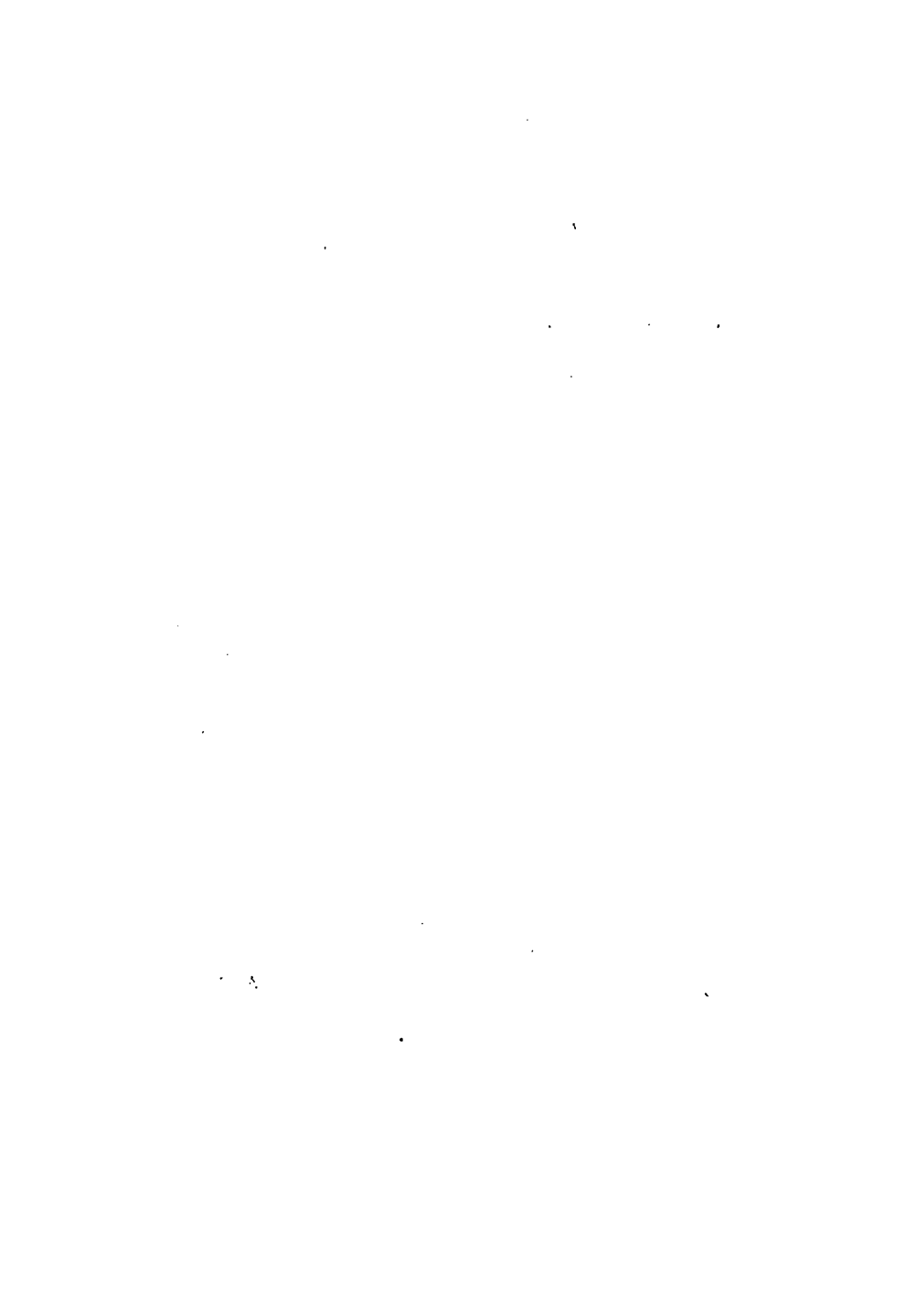
## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THIS little book owes its origin to accidental circumstances, and its appearance to the publishers of the *Travellers' Library*. On this subject—the origin and progressive development of the Printing Art—there are several expensive works, in which much talent has been exhibited, in an endeavour to ascertain the precise period, as well as the specific work, which first issued from the press. Even with all these appliances, some difficulty has been felt in arriving at any positive conclusion; yet, by the condensation of facts scattered over various works, much that was previously obscure and uncertain, will, it is hoped, be found cleared up in this attempt to satisfy the wishes of all who feel an interest in the origin and practice of an art which has greatly influenced the destinies of mankind. In conclusion, the Author begs to offer his thanks to Mr. Whittingham, whose “Chiswick Press” has a world-wide fame, who did him the favour to read the proof-sheets of this little work, and improved it by many valuable suggestions.

A. S.

*April, 1855.*



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# PRINTING.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE ANTECEDENTS OF PRINTING.

The meteor beam that science lent mankind,  
Darting effulgence on the inquiring mind,  
Oft gleam'd—a weak and transitory light,  
A moment glared, then sunk in endless night:  
Man knew no means to hold the fitting case  
Of Art's coy forms, that courted his embrace.  
Her only hope in Memory's stinted power—  
The oral record, changing every hour.

ALMOST from the earliest period—at least from the time when men began to congregate in society, and formed associations for mutual defence and protection—the desire sprung up of prolonging beyond the limited period of human life the knowledge of individual existence, or of conveying to those who must succeed some memorial of the transactions in which either individually or collectively, they had been concerned. In these lingering, longing desires after immortality, originated the engravings on the rocks of Assyria and Nineveh, the

writings on the bricks of Babylon, the hieroglyphics on the pillars, friezes, and door-posts of the temples of Egypt, as well as on the sarcophagi which contain the mummied remains of that ancient people.

The slightest examination of the records of the earliest ages will prove the reality of this process; and here the skill, knowledge, and perseverance of the moderns have been shown in a most extraordinary degree, eliciting at once the admiration of the most learned, and the astonishment of the most ignorant, who have for ages been wandering over lands imbedded with monuments, almost coeval with the first combinations of mankind in society. "We have lived," said one of the chiefs of one of these wandering tribes, "We and our fathers have lived, for some hundreds of years upon these lands, and had no understanding that there was other than the turf over which our flocks and our herds had been roaming, and with which we were familiar from infancy; and here comes a stranger from over some thousands of miles, who never saw our country—yet here he comes, and with a rod, and a line, and a pickaxe, uncovers to our view buildings and wonders which surpass our imagination and astonish our senses."

Can we wonder at the surprise and astonishment of this chief, when we consider that the district where these

discoveries have been made, may not improperly be termed the cradle of the human race—the original seat of all arts and sciences; and where the very first principles of the art of printing—the subject of our present consideration—had their first exemplar and origin! In the land of Shinar, in the country watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates, the Scripture—that first of authorities, and which every discovery tends more fully to authenticate—places the earliest habitations of the human race. Thus we have evidence that at the very earliest period the belief was generally current, both among the Egyptians and Jews, that the first settlements were in Assyria, and that from Chaldea civilisation and the arts and sciences were spread over the world. Abraham and his family, 1900 years B. C., emigrated from a land already thickly inhabited, and possessing large cities. The four confederate kings who marched, in the time of the patriarch, against the people of Sodom and the neighbouring cities, were under the King of Assyria, whose kingdom extended over the district then known as Asia. Jeremiah, in the description of the terrible nation who were to desolate India and lay waste Jerusalem, no doubt alludes to this same district, which, as an aggravation of the fearful prediction, he describes “as an ancient nation, a nation whose language thou knowest not, neither understandest what they say,” and the —



early Greek writers agree in assigning to the first kings of Nineveh the most remote antiquity.

The great antiquity of carving documents on stone is shown by the Bible. The divine commands were first issued on stone tablets, and, amongst all primitive nations, this appears to have been considered the most appropriate and durable method of perpetuating records. In such case the letters were evidently cut with a sharp instrument of iron or prepared copper. Job says, "Oh that my words were written! that they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever!" This would lead to the conjecture, which is borne out by remains still in existence, that these incised letters were filled up with lead, and a transparent substance laid over the whole tablet, to preserve it against injury from exposure: for simple horizontal or perpendicular lines, deeply incised, will defy for ages the effects of decay.

It is not my intention, neither does it fall within the scope of my subject, to enter into any extended detail of the discoveries that have been made, however inviting and interesting, and well worthy of examination. I shall merely request the favour of your company over the interior of the building which has been selected as the scene of detail, and endeavour to exhibit to your view the manner in which it is presumed these objects of art were employed for

the information of visitors, as well as of succeeding generations. I have led, says Layard, the reader through the ruins of the Assyrian Palace, and he may judge of the impression its halls were calculated to make upon the stranger who, in days of old, entered for the first time the abode of the Assyrian kings. He was ushered in through the portals, guarded by colossal lions, or bulls of white alabaster. In the first hall he found himself surrounded by the sculptured records of the empire. Battles, sieges, triumphs, the exploits of the chase, the ceremonies of religion, were portrayed on the walls, sculptured in alabaster, and painted in gorgeous colours. Under each picture were engraved, in characters filled up with bright copper, inscriptions describing the scenes represented. Above the sculptures were painted other events—the king, attended by his eunuchs and warriors, receiving his prisoners, entering into alliances with other monarchs, or performing some sacred duty. These representations were enclosed in coloured borders of elaborate and elegant design: the emblematic tree, winged bulls, and monstrous animals were conspicuous. Amongst the ornaments at the upper end of the hall, was the colossal figure of the king, in adoration before the superior deity, or receiving from his eunuch the holy cup, attended by warriors bearing his arms, and by the priests or presiding divinities. His robes,

and those of his followers, were adorned with groups of figures, animals, and flowers, all painted with brilliant colours.

The stranger trod upon alabaster slabs, each bearing an inscription recording the titles, genealogy, and achievements of the great king. Several doorways, formed by gigantic winged lions or bulls, or by the figures of guardian deities, led into other apartments, which again opened into more distant halls. In each were new sculptures; on the walls of some were processions of colossal figures—armed men and eunuchs following the king, warriors laden with spoil, leading prisoners, or bearing presents or offerings to the gods. On the walls of others were portrayed the winged priests or presiding divinities standing before the sacred trees.

The ceilings above were divided into square compartments, painted with flowers, or with the figures of animals. Some were inlaid with ivory, and each compartment surrounded by elegant borders and mouldings. The beams as well as the sides of the chambers may have been gilded and even plated with gold and silver: and the rarest woods, in which the cedar was conspicuous, were used for the wood-work. Square openings in the ceilings of the chambers admitted the light of day—a pleasing shadow was thus thrown over the sculptured

walls, which gave a majestic expression to the human features of the colossal forms which guarded the entrance.

These edifices were great national monuments, upon the walls of which were represented in sculpture, or inscribed in alphabetic characters, the chronicles of the empire; and there might thus be read the history, as well as the glory and triumphs, of the nation. They served, at the same time, to bring continually to the remembrance of those who assembled within on festive occasions, or for the celebration of religious ceremonies, the deeds of their ancestors, and the power and majesty of their gods.

Such was the extraordinary progress which the arts, particularly that of architecture, had made upwards of forty centuries ago—at a time when it might have been otherwise supposed, that it would hardly have advanced beyond its earliest rudiments, particularly when compared with its state in other countries, perhaps less fortunately situated, and where owing to the want of association there existed neither the means, nor the power of combination, to carry through such extensive undertakings. Inviting, however, as it may be, its prosecution does not fall within the range of the subject I have undertaken to illustrate, except

as respects one of its component parts—the kiln or sun-dried bricks. These seem to have been largely used for the purpose of handing down to posterity the name and designation of the monarch for whose use and occupation the building had been originally raised, but would most probably be also employed for similar purposes, by private individuals. That such has been the case, and that the characters and language were generally well known and understood, is shown by the singular discovery first made, I believe, by Sir Robert Ker Porter, some forty or fifty years ago, in his travels in Persia, &c., when he found engraved on the face of many of the rocks, scattered over the country, from Assyria to Persia, various long inscriptions, some of them containing 600 lines, in similar characters to those of which we have spoken as found on the dried bricks of Nineveh. These inscriptions are all made in cuneiform or arrow-headed characters, so called from one of the elements of which they consist—a straight line, slightly divided at the top like the notch of an arrow; the other element is two portions of an irregular triangle, without the base is an < The letters are read uniformly from left to right, as in our own language, and have, most of them, been deciphered through the skill and application of modern intelligence—those on the face

of the rocks being simply historical documents, simultaneously presenting to us Darius Hystaspes proclaiming from the rocks of Behistan, and the buildings of Persepolis, his titles, his history, the nations over whom he ruled, the rebels whom he subdued; and his son Xerxes announcing his succession to the power and dominions of his father. Voltaire, in sheer wantonness, has attempted to throw ridicule upon that portion of Genesis, where the people are commanded to write the law on tables of stone. Although the discoveries of Nineveh, or the rocks of Behistan, were not then known, yet the fact that stones were used for the purpose of communication is on record. Herodotus mentions a letter written on plates of stone which Themistocles sent to the Ionians 500 years before our era; and the Tables of Isis, in the royal collection of Turin, which might have been easily seen by Voltaire, shew the practice to have been not uncommon in Egypt. Further it may be noted, that by the application of the skill of the modern type-founders, these arrow-headed inscriptions have been perpetuated, and made accessible to all, through the medium of moveable types, after the cessation of the use of the character for nearly 2300 years, not one of the least of the many wonderful

achievements of printing. These types were first cast at Paris, but have since been produced by the English founders.

The dried bricks of Nineveh, as they have been generally termed, seem to have been composed of clay mixed with sand, and in some cases to have undergone the action of fire almost to vitrification. Whilst in a plastic state they were impressed with a block of wood or metal, having on the back a knob or handle for the convenience of making an equal pressure, on the face of which the characters and lines were left prominent, the parts around each letter being cut away, precisely similar to what is practised by the wood-letter engravers at the present time. That the block was pressed upon the face of the clay whilst in a soft state, is apparent from the surface of the edges being below the general level, whilst the force applied has been such as to press or swell out the surrounding parts. From these appearances it is tolerably clear, that if the block or stamp had been coloured with a glutinous ink or any dark mixture, and applied with similar pressure upon skin, paper, or any suitable substance, the effect produced would have been similar to that made by block printing. It may be observed, as an evidence of the value of the information obtained from these bricks, that

a regular series of ten or twelve kings in succession to each other have been traced and ascertained; and further examinations and discoveries in the Chaldean collection have ascertained the existence of eighteen primitive kings of Babylonia. These relics, it is hoped, will form the nucleus of a history of Western Asia, contemporaneous with, and even preceding, the establishment of the children of Israel in the Holy Land. Another curious discovery has lately been made, that the cuneiform alphabet was employed as late as the commencement of the third century B. C. Some tablets discovered at Wurka containing names which there is little doubt are those of Seleucus and Antiochus.

The use of a block for stamping characters upon bricks, was itself an improvement upon the preceding but dilatory mode, that of cutting out words upon blocks of stone. Such stones have been found in the more ancient walls at Nineveh, and generally throughout the whole country to the borders of Persia.

Amongst the ruins of Nineveh, and also in those of Persepolis, have been found solid cylindrical bricks, lessening towards the ends, the whole circumference covered with small but finely executed characters, in a similar manner to those on the face of the common



bricks, but containing much more extended information, and entering with more detail than might have been expected in what required so much preparation.

There is no doubt that the common mode of keeping records in Assyria and Babylon was on prepared cylinders, bricks, or tiles of clay, baked after the inscription was impressed. In this manner the Chaldean priests kept their astronomical observations ; and Ezekiel, who lived and prophesied near the river Chebar in Assyria, was commanded to use a tile of similar materials to the bricks generally used, but much thinner—"Thou also, son of man, take thee a tile, and portray upon it the city, even Jerusalem." Of such records many specimens still remain—one hexagonal cylinder from Mosul contains in each side about sixty lines of writing, the whole in such minute characters as to require the aid of a magnifying-glass to ascertain their forms. On some tiles, besides many lines of writing there seem also the impressions of seals, similar to the deeds or legal writings of a long subsequent period.

These advances were still too limited in their effects to satisfy the rational requirements of an improving and increasing society, and the discovery of the means of marking the dried skins of animals, or some other substitute, with the stile or pen, opened the way to increase

and enlarge the amount of information, and to preserve it in a more convenient if not so permanent a form as the rock or the pillar. Of this the excavations in Nineveh also furnish the first example on some of these tiles. A scribe is seen employed in marking on a roll, of some apparently soft substance, the amount of treasure and other articles derived from some conquest of the chief, and in Scripture the roll of the prophet is distinctly specified, so that we have thus distinct evidence of this practice being then common in both public and private use.

The long subsequent discovery of manufacturing a portion of the cotton plant into paper, and which, though frail and weak in its texture for long preservation, is still largely used; as well as the application of various substitutes, woods, wax, bark, seeds, mallow or palm leaves, many specimens of which are common; all these were used for public and individual convenience—and contributed to accumulate and preserve knowledge. The discovery, however, of the manner of making paper from linen rags, which shortly preceded the discovery of printing—though one or two specimens are alleged to have been traced to an earlier period—contributed most essentially to this purpose. If parchment had continued to be the only material, the rapid production of copies must have

been almost wholly precluded. Paper of straw, of cotton, and of the papyrus, had been tried and failed from its dearness, its difficulty, and its speedy wear. The linen rag was accidentally and fortunately used ; and we thus obtained the true material to receive the thoughts of mankind, and transmit them almost unperishably. This discovery is supposed by some to have been derived through the Spanish Arabs. M. Casin discovered several MSS. of cotton paper in the Escorial as early as 1009, and of linen paper of the date 1106, the origin of which latter fabric Tiraboschi has erroneously ascribed to an Italian of Treviso in the middle of the 14th century. Stow says that paper was first made of cotton about A.D. 1000, and from rags about 1319, and white paper was made by Sir John Speilman at Dartford in 1509. Those desirous of further information may be referred to Haydn's Dictionary of Dates,—Reports of the Great Exhibition,—Rees' Cyclopædia, and the Ency. Britannica.

Under all disadvantages—and not the least was, that each work was frequently the fruit of a life's labours—there is no doubt that, in the course of ages, large collections had been formed of the history, the thoughts and opinions, both of the ancient and, if I may so call it, of the modern world: at Alexandria the library founded by Ptolemy Soter ultimately contained 700,000 vols. Eumenes of Pergamus collected 200,000

—the younger Gordian had 62,000 books bequeathed to him by his tutor; the Roman Emperors collected books from all quarters, and at the commencement of the fifth century there were twenty-nine public libraries in Rome alone. In every important city of the east and of the west, and especially in all the large convents, great attention was given to the copying and collecting of manuscripts, neither was our own country behind its neighbours in that respect. About the middle of the eighth century a considerable library had been collected at York, as we learn from a letter of Alcuin, a member of the Scoto-Irish church, and then connected with the Church at York.

“Send me,” says he, in a letter to Charlemagne of France, “some learned treatises as excellent as those of which I have the care at York, and which were collected by my master.” A Bible presented by Alcuin to Charlemagne has been preserved to our day. It is a magnificent folio, bound in velvet, the leaves of vellum and the writing in double columns, the whole containing 449 leaves. Prefixed is a richly ornamented frontispiece in gold and colours: and it is enriched with four large paintings, exhibiting the state of the art at this early period; thirty-four large initial letters painted in gold and colours, containing seals, historical allusions, and emblematic devices; besides some smaller painted capitals. It

is in good preservation, and was sold in 1806 for £1500. Further, Alcuin says—"Eobert and I will send some of my young people to bear into France the flowers of Britain, so that there may be no longer an enclosed garden at York, but that some offshoots from Paradise may blossom at Tours as well as here." Alcuin, so well known for his learning throughout Europe, afterwards went to France.

If all the collective productions of successive generations could have been preserved to our day, of what a mass of knowledge and intelligence should we have been in possession; but unfortunately, besides the accidents to which all public repositories must necessarily be exposed, the ignorance and fanaticism of barbarian conquerors and others have deprived mankind of much of these lessons of the past.

When Alexandria was captured by the Saracens (640), Philoponus applied to the general, Amri, who was fond of literature, for the philosophical works in that library. "This," said Amri, "I cannot decide till I have the orders of the Caliph Omar." The Caliph's order was—"If there be nothing in the books concerning which you write, contrary to the book of God—the Koran—they are utterly useless; but if they contain any thing repugnant to that book, they ought to be suppressed: I command you, therefore, to destroy them all." This

was done, and the baths of that city were heated by the MSS. for six months—such was the immense collection. However we may regret the loss, perhaps little other answer could have been expected ; but what shall be said of the conduct of a literary character of our own day, a man of no mean celebrity—Mons. de Condorcet—who moved in the Legislature of France, that all patents of nobility, heraldic pedigrees, and other similar records and documents, as well as all the depots in which such existed, should be collected and burnt by the public executioner? The law was unanimously passed, and it is needless to say how zealously the mob of Paris responded to the spirit which produced such a motion !

The history of every nation is composed of individual deeds, all tending towards a particular end; and as the agents of these have been considered either worthy of commemoration for valour, for arts, or for science, so has the nation been rendered illustrious by their example. In fact, the patents of nobility, in most cases granted for noble and illustrious deeds, constitute frequently the best evidences of history—the medals by which doubtful and obscure facts may often be rendered clear. Look back upon the history of our own country, and you will find in almost every age some prominent individual mind, leaving the strong impress of his cha-

racter on the interests of his country. These are the men who have been most generally selected—and justly so—for the honours of the crown, whom the nation has contributed to honour, and to proclaim as the benefactors of their country.

Fortunately for the advancement of mankind, by the art of the printer the labours of the learned in every branch of knowledge, if attempted to be extirpated in one country of Europe, find refuge in another; and driven from thence, either by the tyranny or ignorance of some future Omar or Condorcet, will still find a refuge in some of those numerous colonies which the perseverance, courage, and enterprise, of the Anglo-Saxon race have established in other regions of the globe.

Before concluding this portion of my subject, a few remarks on the method of ascertaining the age of MSS. may not be irrelevant. Manuscripts which are written in capitals, or have several of their words joined together without any distinction of situation, belong to the seventh century or earlier; and such as are written in capitals, without any distinction of the words at all, belong to the fifth century, while some of them are much older. Saxon characters were in use in England from the seventh

to the 12th century, and a few are found in the 13th century. The Saxon character for *th* was, however, retained until the end of the 15th century, and the common contraction *y'* for *the*, is merely a corruption of the Saxon *th*. MSS. that have several of the diphthongs æ divided, belong to the 9th and 10th century, except in some written about the period of the invention of printing, when the scribes began to imitate the hands of the books which they copied. Most of these have been executed in Italy. Those MSS. which use the single vowel, may be referred to the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries : Greek MSS. without accents are as ancient as the 7th century.

Perhaps it may not be out of place also to mention the instruments commonly used in writing. By the ancient Greeks the reed, largely supplied from Egypt, was at first used, afterwards small hollow canes. Both of these continued to be used by the modern Greeks, by the Tartars, Persians, Turks, and Indians; the latter using the small hollow bamboo cane, cut about the length and thickness of our quill pen. The Romans used an iron style, sharp at one end, to write on leaves of wood, the common medium in use, and blunt at the other end, for the purpose of defacing or correcting. These were dangerous weapons. Cæsar is said to have seized the arm of Cassius in full senate and pierced it



with his style, a very bad evidence of the spirit of regularity and order which might have been expected in these meetings of the Conscript Fathers. That they were common amongst the people also, may be concluded from the circumstance that a Roman knight, having scourged his son to death, was attacked in the forum by the mob, stabbed in many parts of his body with their iron styles, and narrowly escaped with life. These styles were subsequently prohibited; but, notwithstanding, still continued in use, as we find that in 360, A.D., Cussianus, who had been a bishop in Germany, but driven from thence by the Pagans, became a schoolmaster at Rome, was by order of Julian exposed to the merciless rage of his scholars, who killed him with their table books of wood, and their styles. Quills of geese, swans, peacocks, crows, and other birds, were anciently used in Europe, and have continued in use still. St. Isidore of Seville, in the middle of the seventh century, describes a pen made from a quill as used in his time. Modern skill has improved upon these forms, and pens of steel, of silver, of gold, and of diamonds—nay, even of caoutchouc—are found upon almost every private table.

## CHAPTER II.

## ORIGIN OF PRINTING.

Fire is the scythe wherewith Time doth mow  
Ten thousand precious volumes at a blow;  
Blest printing best of all his rage withstands,  
And often chains his feet and ties his hands.

OF all the discoveries connected with the ultimate destiny of man, printing will probably exercise the most important influence. When it gradually burst forth like the dawn of light, it both awakened the minds of men, and poured upon them that radiance which had long been entombed within the dark precincts of the monastic cell. Through printing the intellectual labours of mankind are preserved and perpetuated. Fabric upon fabric is continually added to the structure of human intelligence; and from the living monuments of the past, men gather the experience that enables them to ascend still higher, and to take their own upward flight. And surely this is a mighty power for man to exercise! The characters traced by his pen are circulated, by means of printing, amongst myriads of human beings, contributing possibly to their individual comfort and prosperity, and be-

coming their consoling friends in solitude. Above all, it lent its powerful aid to religion, when it burst asunder the chains by which men were debarred from the near approach to the book of life and truth, and delivered it unfettered and entire, a most precious gift to all future generations, thus hastening the period when the words of Scripture shall be fulfilled—when there shall be one fold and one shepherd.

It seems probable that the Chinese have long been in possession of the art of printing, though from whence derived cannot now be ascertained. Possibly it may have been from the practices adopted by the Ninevites and Babylonians: but as the art appears never to have advanced beyond the style of the block books in England, it is not necessary here to advert further to it, particularly as the printing art in Europe does not seem to have originated from any knowledge derived from that most singular people, although such a supposition has sometimes been entertained.

Towards the latter end of the fourteenth century, a rude attempt was made in England to originate the art, by the printing of playing cards from wooden blocks. This was followed in Europe by what were called *block* books, on which at first only the figure of a saint with a few lines of letters were cut, but gradually entire pages were impressed in this manner. This was the first

step in the progress of the art. The earliest block book known bears the date of 1423.\* It is in the library of Earl Spencer; and it contains a very curious wood-cut of St. Christopher carrying the infant Saviour across the sea. It was discovered in one of the most ancient convents in Germany, the Chartreuse of Buxheim, near Memmingen, pasted within one of the covers of a Latin manuscript of the year 1417.† It has an inscription at the bottom, which may be thus translated,—“In whatever day thou seest the likeness of St. Christopher, in that same day thou wilt, at least from death, no evil blow incur, 1423.” Another of this class was what is called the *Biblia Pauperum*, the Bible of the Poor, supposed to have been executed between 1420 and 1430, and contains from forty to fifty leaves. All the copies that remain are in a very mutilated state. Various others of a similar description might be adduced, executed between 1430 and 1450, but they all present

\* “Dans une catalogue des livres de l'abbaye de Wiblingen en Souabe on trouve non seulement, *Item, Dominicalia in parvo Libro STAMPATO in papyro, non scripto*; mais aussi la même main a ajouté à la fin, ‘Anno Dmi 1340, viguit qui fecit stampari Donatos.’ Avant cette époque on imprimait en Allemagne des Donats avec l'estampille, de la même manière que les relieurs mettent le titre sur le dos des livres,” —*Lichtenberger*, p. 58.

† Heineken says, “La pièce est collée sur la reliure d'un vieux livre (MS.) du 15<sup>me</sup> Siècle,” but does not give the date of the MS. He found four editions of the *Biblia Pauperum* of forty plates, and one of fifty plates.

nearly the same character. Caxton was the first who in this country attempted to diversify his work, "The Game and Play of Chess," in 1474, with some illustrations, but the figures are rather rude and grotesque. Albert Durer was a great promoter of these block books, and those which he executed are done with spirit. With a knowledge of these circumstances, it will not surprise any one that the original invention of the art of printing should be doubtful, and that various cities should have contested this honour. In the present case, I shall content myself with giving the prominent features of the early history of the invention.

John Gensfleisch of Solgelooh, better known by the name of Gutenberg, a native of Mentz, was settled at Strasburg in 1424, where he carried on the business of polishing mirrors and precious stones, and is supposed to have conceived the idea of printing about 1440. The following ten years were probably spent in perfecting his invention, as there is no evidence that he actually published any thing before 1450. In 1436, Gutenberg took into partnership Andrew Drizehn, John Riff, and Antony Hielmann, all natives of that city. Their agreement was for the term of five years; but, owing to some differences arising between them, they separated in 1439, before its expiration. These differences produced a lawsuit. Thirteen witnesses were examined, and from

the evidence of Gutenberg's servant it was incontrovertibly proved, that John Gutenberg was the first who practised the art of printing with moveable types, and that on the death of Andrew Drizehn in 1438, he had expressly ordered the forms to be broken up, and the characters dispersed, lest any one should discover his secret. In 1450, Gutenberg was induced to associate himself with John Fust or Faust, on the latter advancing him 800 florins at 6 per cent., and 300 more to be spent in wages and materials for the establishment.

Jer. Jacques Oberlin of Strasbourg, in his work, "*Essai d'Annales de la Vie de Jean Gutenberg, inventeur de la Typographie*," further clearly establishes the fact, that he was the inventor of printing. Malinkrot, dean of Munster, in his treatise "*De Ortu et Progressu Artis Typographicæ*," has also ably supported the same opinion, and collected a great variety of testimonies, supported by undeniable facts. The abbot Trithemius dived into the fountain-head of information, and in his "*Chronicon Spanheimense*," 1450, says—"About this time the art of printing and casting single types was found out anew, instead of by the previous wooden types, in the city of Mentz, by one John Gutenberg, who, having spent his whole estate in this difficult discovery, by the assistance and advice of others brought his undertaking at length to perfection. The said John Gutenberg lived at Mentz;

in a house called *Zum jungen* (or *Zum guten Berg*), which afterwards was known by the name of the *Printing-house*."

This priority of Gutenberg is disputed by the city of Haerlem, which claims the honour of the invention for one of its own citizens, Laurence Coster. The name of Coster was derived from the office, long held by the family, of sexton in the church. These pretensions have been strenuously advocated in Holland by Meerman and König, in the "*Origines Typographicæ*" and "*Origin of Printing*." In 1628, Scriverius of Haerlem published the fragment of a MS. without date, by Juan Van Zuysen, a burgomaster of that city, who died in 1591; it was entitled, "On the first and true invention of Printing, unheard of until now." But as Scriverius received the fragment anonymously, and it does not appear that the name of the inventor is there mentioned, the assertion seems to be of no value. Junius, a learned Dutchman, in his "*History of Holland*," published in 1578, ascribes the invention to Laurence, the son of John Coster, and mentions that the idea first occurred to him from cutting letters on a tree, and thence upon pieces of wood. He then made some glutinous ink, as he found that common ink sunk into the paper, and with these rude materials he printed the "*Speculum Humanæ Salvationis*," the leaves of which were glued together,

as they were only printed on one side. It does not appear to be much superior to the block books of the time. Coster is said next to have tried leaden and tin types, and also took into partnership his servant John, who robbed him of his types, and finally set up printing on his own account at Mentz. Mr. Santander insists that the story is altogether untrue; that if such a person as Coster existed, he died before 1440, a year before the robbery is said to have been committed. Other legends are cited; but it is principally on the authority of this tale that the inhabitants of Haerlem hold annual festivals, and have raised monuments, in commemoration of Laurence Coster, in their eyes the sole inventor of printing.

But to return to Gutenberg, about whose claim to the honour of being the real inventor there is now no dispute. With him and Faust, in 1450, was associated Peter Schœffer, the servant of Faust. It has been disputed whether or not Schœffer was in partnership with Gutenberg. Bernard, in his "*Origine de l'Imprimerie*," p. 1, p. 216, says, "*que Fust jetta les yeux sur Schœffer pour remplacer Gutenberg dans la direction de l'atelier typographique.*" But whether he was a partner or not, it is admitted that he was the inventor of punches of engraved steel, by which matrices were struck, from which the types were cast. This produced uniformity



in the length and form of letters, a great desideratum, and tending to economize labour.

The first work that issued from their press is generally allowed to be the Latin Bible,\* without a date, which, having been found in the middle of the last century in the Cardinal Mazarin's library, bears his name. Of the various dates that have been assigned, 1455 appears to be the most probable. It was a splendid dedication of the noble art to the Giver of all Wisdom, in thus making the printing of the entire Bible their first attempt, and is a curious proof of their unshrinking perseverance, and the confidence which they placed in their invention. Gutenberg and Faust's partnership† terminated in 1455, and the first work printed by Faust and Schœffer was the Psalter, which appeared in 1457.

With reference to this Mazarin Bible, a somewhat curious story has been circulated. Faust, who first

\* This is considered to be the production of Gutenberg. A portion of the impression Schœffer caused to be appropriated to himself by cancelling certain sheets, and causing certain blanks, left for writing in the rubrics, to be filled up with printing in red.

† The reader will find in Oberlin's work, above referred to, some curious details of the circumstances that led to the dissolution of their partnership. From these it appears that a dispute having arisen respecting the repayment of a loan which Faust had made to Gutenberg, the former had recourse to the law for redress, and, having gained his suit by chicanery, managed to get Gutenberg ousted from the concern, and by subsequently making no mention of his former partner, appropriated to himself all the honour of the invention of printing, a large share of which was due to Gutenberg.

brought a lot of these books to Paris, sold one of the best copies to the king for 700 crowns, another he sold to the archbishop for 400 crowns. Surprised by the regularity and beauty of the books, the archbishop carried his copy to the king, and they were both astonished at the amazing similarity in the execution of the writing; for it never entered into their imaginations that they were other than MSS., and the productions of very expert scribes. When, however, it was ascertained that several other copies, all precisely similar in the form of the letters and length and number of the lines, had been disposed of to other parties for 500 or 600 crowns, 500 crowns being the usual price, and therefore so much less than books of the same or an equal execution had ever been sold at, the wonder of the king and archbishop was still further increased, and it was considered absolutely impossible that they could have been accomplished but by magical skill; the red ink also, which embellished this edition, being of a very brilliant colour, was supposed to be blood. Faust was therefore apprehended, and only escaped burning by declaring the secret, and thus exposing to the world the simplicity of the contrivance. It is also alleged that, in the first instance, the parties employed to assist in printing the work were sworn to secrecy, as the intention was to pass the copies produced upon the world as manuscripts. But

after the capture of Mentz, in 1492, the workmen were dispersed, and considered themselves released from this oath. These circumstances account for the difficulty of ascertaining the precise origin of the art, as it was of very great importance to the success of the speculation that the manner of proceeding should not be understood; and it was only after some years, when the secret was forgotten, and the original discoverers had descended into their graves, or had little interest or opportunity to support their claim, that the origin of the art of printing became a matter of dispute.

The Mazarin Bible, as also all the earliest specimens of printing, are distinguished by the extraordinary size of the types, being of a noble gothic character, mixed with those produced by the hand, to imitate the handwriting of those times, and were therefore subject to the abbreviations used in MSS. There was seldom a regular titlepage on a separate leaf; but the works usually commenced with the words *Incipit liber*, &c. It was the custom also to leave blanks for the capital letters at the beginning of chapters, to be filled up by some illuminated letter-writer.

John Schœffer's conduct was most unwarrantable. His father John, and grandfather Peter Schœffer, had never arrogated to themselves the glory of being the absolute

inventors, but only that of being promoters of the art, in conjunction with Gutenberg. In his colophon to Livy, folio 1508, John asserted the contrary; and in the Missal printed at the Mentz press in 1509, and afterwards, he stated—" *Cujus avus (Jo. Faustus) primus artis impressoriæ fuit inventor et auctor.*" In the colophon of the work, "Breviarium Historiæ Francorum," in 1515, he went still farther, giving all the glory of the invention to his father and grandfather, asserting that the art was kept secret in his house till 1462, after which time it began to be divulged out of Mentz. Finally, in 1518, in his edition of Livy, he obtained his long wished for object—he procured an honourable and lucrative privilege from the emperor Maximilian. This solemn imperial privilege, authenticating Schœffer's relation, was too generally received as an incontrovertible truth, and caused numberless typographical controversies. There can be no doubt that the original connection was as has been stated :—Peter Schœffer had been originally servant to Faust, and, being very expert in preparing the moulds and casting the letters, he obtained Christina, daughter of Conrad Faust, in marriage.

Having quarrelled with his partners, for Gutenberg is said to have been of a hasty, irascible disposition, he established a printing-press at Mentz, under the patronage of Dr. Conrad Humbracht, who was in fact the

proprietor, as he advanced the whole of the money necessary to commence and support the establishment. In 1460, the great Latin Dictionary, entitled "Catholicon Johannis de Balbis," issued from this press, and during the same year the "Constitutions of Clement V.," which latter work some authors have ascribed to Faust and Schœffer. While Gutenberg was working his opposition press, his late partners were actively pursuing their labours, and in 1457 produced the first Psalter extant, with the names of the printers, and the date on the last page, in the form of a colophon or notice. Another Psalter was printed by them with similar characters in 1459, and in the same year "Durandi Rationale," being a treatise on the liturgical offices of the Church. Van Praet thinks, that the Psalters were printed from wooden types, and that the "Durandi Rationale" was the earliest production from cast types, bearing the name and date of the printers. A Bible without a date, but supposed to have appeared about 1460-1462, is ascribed by some to Gutenberg, and by others to Pfister, who set up a press at Bamberg. This latter Bible was considered the first production, until the discovery of the Mazarin Bible. In 1465, Gutenberg was attached to the court of Adolphus, Count of Nassau, who had in the preceding year invaded and captured Mentz. He was admitted among his gentle-

men, probably in consequence of his knowledge of the art of printing. It is uncertain positively at what time he died, but it is supposed to have taken place in 1468. His printing apparatus was given up to Dr. Humbracht.

On the 24th of June, 1840, and three following days, a grand commemoration of the fourth centenary since the discovery of printing was celebrated at Mentz, and it is almost needless to say, that throughout Germany Midsummer Day was observed as a day of national rejoicing. *Gutenberg! Gutenberg!* was toasted in many a bumper of Rhenish wine. Wherever you went *Gutenberg balls* and *Gutenberg pictures* stared you in the face, and the papers were filled with advertisements, alluding in some way or other to the engrossing subject. Catchpenny articles were manufactured, and the tradesmen allured their customers by christening their wares after the hero of the day. *Gutenberg pipes* and *Gutenberg sticks*, *Gutenberg caps* and *Gutenberg handkerchiefs*, *Gutenberg beer* and *Gutenberg schnapps*, attested the popularity of the Printer of Mentz. A splendid statue was raised to his memory at Mentz. “*Johanni Gutenbergensi Moguntino, qui primus omnium Literas esse imprimendas invenit—Hac arte de Orbe toto bene merenti.*” Of Faust, whose name has been since associated with that of the evil spirit as the prince of magicians, little farther is known. He resumed his

labours, and in 1465 produced the "Offices of Cicero," and in the following year a second edition of the same work; shortly after which he went to Paris, for the purpose of selling some of his Bibles, and is supposed to have died there of the plague, as from that period the name of Schœffer alone appears in the works which issued from that press.

Dean Malinkrot, in 1640, took much pains in establishing the fact, that the origin of the Art of Printing began at Mentz, and placed the testimonies in the following order:

For Mentz before the dispute was started by Junius.....	63
Since the time of Junius.....	38
	—101
For Haerlem.....	13
Difference of supporters.....	88
Neutral.....	11

Modern printers, English and Foreign, are generally supporters of the origin of the art having been discovered at Mentz; and M'Creery, in his poem of *The Press*, supports this notion, giving the honour to Gutenberg, Faust, and Schœffer at Mentz:—

"O Mentz! proud city, long thy fame enjoy,  
 For with thy PRESS thy glory ne'er shall die:  
 Still may thy guardian battlements withstand  
 The ruthless shock of war's destructive band,  
 Where Gutenberg with toil incessant wrought  
 The imitative lines of written thought;  
 And, as his heart a nobler effort made,  
 The sweeping lever his commands obey'd.

Elastic balls the sable stains supply,  
Light o'er the form the sheeted tympan fly ;  
The beauteous work returning leaves unfold,  
As with alternate force the axle roll'd.  
His bosom now unbounded joys expand,  
A printed volume owns his mighty hand.  
The curious work, from sculptured blocks imprest,  
The rising glories of his art confest.

To give to distant climes a name more dear,  
To spread the blessings through a wider sphere,  
Schœffer and Faust, with kindling ardour fired,  
Lent the strong aid that thirst of fame inspired.  
The stubborn block, with rude unchanging form,  
One end could answer, but one task perform ;  
Till Faust, with all his powers of genius ripe,  
Struck the first die and cast the moving type,  
That ever, as the curious artist will'd,  
In some new station some new office fill'd.  
With ancient Mentz, our central point of art,  
In the proud race the neighbouring cities start,  
Spreading, as light diverges from its source,  
The great invention though a distant course.  
Thronging around the candidates for fame,  
To breathe new life, in countless numbers came  
Prest for the meed which we at once bestow,  
The source from which immortal honours flow."



## CHAPTER III.

## HISTORY OF PRINTING.

"Hail mystic art, which men like angels taught,  
To speak to eyes and print embodied thought;  
The deaf and dumb, blest skill, relieved by thee,  
We make one sense perform the task of three.  
We see, we hear, we touch the head and heart,  
And take or give what each but yields in part."

THE workmen, released from their oath by the capture of Mentz, spread themselves amongst various cities, and set up on their own account. The cities where printing was most actively carried on were Bamberg, Cologne, Strasburg, Augsburg, and two or three others, and within a very short time books were issued from all these places; but, notwithstanding the zeal of these early printers, the production of books proceeded but slowly. Panzer calculates that only twenty-four different works appeared between 1461 and 1470. Two of Faust's workmen in 1470 commenced in Paris. And Ulric Gering, a German and native of Constance, with his two

associates, Martin Crantz and Michael Friburger, also commenced there in 1470. Chevillier enumerates eleven books, and Panzer eighteen, as printed there. Notwithstanding this, the art would appear very early to have attracted notice, as a French poetical satirist, in his remarks upon the manners of the day, says:—

“I’ve seen a mighty throng  
Of printed books and long,  
To draw to studious ways  
The poor men of our days,  
By which new-fangled practice  
We soon shall see the fact is,  
Our streets will swarm with scholars,  
Without clean shirts or collars,  
With Bibles, books, and codices  
As cheap as tape for bodices.”

Sweynheim and Pannartz, who had also worked under Faust, set up a press at the monastery of Subiaco. Cennini, a goldsmith, established one at Florence, and John Spire one at Venice; and so industrious were the Italians, that between 1471 and 1480, according to Panzer, 1297 books were printed by them—234 of which were editions of ancient authors.

The first book printed in Spain was a curious work on the conception of the Virgin, which appeared in Valencia in 1474. In 1475 printing was established in Barcelona; at Saragossa and Seville in 1477; in 1485 at Salamanca; and Prescott, in his “Ferdinand and Isabella,” notices the

*Ordonançes Reales*, published at Hude in 1485, or, as the privilege expresses it, "*Excrito de litera de molde*," written with letters from a mould, in pretty nearly the same style of expression as was used by our early printers, who frequently advertised the public, "That they were not drawn or written by a pen, as all books had been before, but made by a new art or invention of printing, or stamping them by characters or types of metal set in forms." Presses were also established in the low countries, at Daventer, Utrecht, Louvain, Basle, and at Buda in Hungary; and indeed, in the course of a few years, every town of any importance possessed its printing-office, so that books were amazingly multiplied.

The women of France have distinguished themselves in the art of printing, several of whom might be mentioned. We shall here only notice Charlotte Guillard, 1490-1540, the widow of Berthold Rambolt, who for fifty years kept several presses at work, and printed a great number of large and very correct editions, both in Latin and Greek. Her best impressions were issued after she became a widow the second time—the Bible, the Fathers, and the Works of St. Gregory, in two volumes, which were so accurate as to contain only three faults. Indeed, her fame as a printer was so extensively known, that the learned Lewis Lippeman, bishop of Verona, selected her to print his *Catena S. S. Patrum*

in *Genesim*, which he had finished in Portugal. This he was so well satisfied with, that, after assisting at the Council of Trent, he went on purpose to Paris to return thanks to her, and gave her his second volume also, the *Catena in Exodum*, to print, which she performed with equal beauty and correctness.

Let us turn our eyes now to what took place in our own country. We have seen that some steps were taken, before the art of printing was discovered abroad, to extend and improve the art of block printing, but unsuccessfully. To William Caxton we are indebted for the direct introduction of the art into England. Born in 1412, he was apprenticed to an opulent merchant in London, went to the Low Countries in 1442, and remained abroad for nearly thirty years, during which time he made himself master of the art of printing. Another account tells us that he was sent over in 1464 by Edward IV. to negotiate a treaty with the Duke of Burgundy, and some time after that period returned to this country with the invaluable art. Be this, however, as it may, we know that while at Cologne he translated his "*Recueil de l'Histoire de Troye*," by order of the Duchess of Burgundy, and in the following year he published it. Soon after this he came to England, bringing with him his apparatus, and settled at Westminster under the patronage of the abbot. Here, in 1474,

he produced his first specimen of English typography, on the Game of Chess. In 1477, he published his edition of *Dictes and Sayinges*, a translation from the Latin by Lord Rivers. This unfortunate nobleman, the fast friend of Caxton and of literature, was beheaded at Pontefract, 13th June, 1483.

"Rivers, Vaughan, and Grey,  
Ere this be shorter by the head at Pomfret.

. . . . .

O monstrous! monstrous! and so falls it out  
With Rivers, Vaughan, Grey, and so 't will do  
With some men else, who think themselves as safe  
As thou and I."—*Shakespear, Richard III.*

With this book was presented a specimen of the types of the watermarks on the paper, of the types used by Caxton in his *Boetius de Consolatione*, and the autograph of Coster. Caxton died probably in 1491; but in that short time, about ten years, he printed in all sixty-four different works, though in a literary point of view his works indicate but a low state of knowledge in England. Ames records the following as written in a very old edition of the *Fructus Temporum*—"Of your charitee pray for the soul of Mayster Wylliam Caxton, that in hys tyme was a man of moche ornate and moche renommed wysdome and connyng, and decessed full crystenly the yere of our Lord MCCCCLXXXI.

'Moder of merci shyld hym from t'horribul fynd,  
And bryng hym to lyff eternall that neuyr hath ynd.' "

Whether this was taken from the stone over his tomb is not known, but the expressions are characteristic of the age in which he lived. From the circumstance of a copy of the *Expositio Sancti Hieronymi in Symbolum Apostolorum*, which is preserved in the public library at Cambridge, bearing date Oxford, 1468, it has been contended that Caxton ought not to be considered as the introducer of the art of printing into England; but the difficulty has been cleared up by Middleton and Singer, who prove satisfactorily that the numeral x for the date, in Roman numbers, has been omitted, either accidentally or designedly, of which species of deception there are other instances, one case in particular. At Haerlem is a large quarto, printed by Jacob Bellart, anno MCCCCXXV., and which is shown in confirmation of the claim by that place of having produced the first printed book. Unfortunately for the claim of Haerlem, another copy of the book has been discovered with the date attached, and it is found that the letter L had been artfully erased, and x substituted to support the presumed claim.

Caxton, although the first, was not the only printer in London; for we have the name of John Lettou, who printed by himself two works, and was afterwards taken into partnership by William Machlinia; it seems as if they were the first printers of law in this kingdom, and

produced only about eleven different works. Wynken de Worde, the worthy successor of Caxton, printed, between the years 1491 and 1534, 408 works. Richard Pynson, the first who assumed the title of King's printer, between 1493 and 1531 produced 210 works. Julian Notary, at the sign of the Three Kings, flourished between 1499 and 1515; his publications did not exceed twenty-three in number. But it is unnecessary to pursue the progress of the art further in London.

In 1480, a press was set up at the Benedictine monastery at St Albans, but the name of the printer is unknown. Wynken de Worde says he was some time a schoolmaster, a man of merit, and the friend of Caxton. He continued his labours till 1486. In 1536, "The Boke of St. Albans" was produced, which is otherwise entitled a "Treatise of Hawking, Hunting, Fishing, and Court Armour," said to be by Juliana Berners, prioress of Sopewell, near St. Albans, a very curious book, a very fine copy of which, now in the British Museum, was accidentally discovered at Blyton, near Gainsborough. Juliana was a poet, and her remarks evince strong sense and accurate observation.

" A faythfulle frende wold I fayne fynde,  
To fynde hym there he myght be founde,  
But now is the worlde wext unkynde,  
That frendship is fall to the grounde.

Now a frende I have founde,  
That I woll nother ban ne curse,  
But of all frendes in felde or towne,  
Ever gramercy—my own purse."

Printing was introduced at Oxford, between 1480 and 1485, by Theodore Rood, a native of Cologne, who carried on the business in partnership with John Hunt, an Englishman. In 1507, a press was set up in Edinburgh, by patent from James IV. to Walter Chapman. The first book was entitled the *Porteus of Nobleness*. In 1509, the Breviary of the Church of Aberdeen was printed there, and a second part in the following year. Watson in his *History of Printing* says, it was introduced there from the Low Countries, by the priests who fled thither from persecution at home. In 1509, printing was introduced into the city of York by Hewe Goes, a printer from Antwerp. His first publication was the *Pica*\* or *Vic*, an old book of liturgy used in that cathedral. After 1516, he removed to Beverley. His mark or rebus was a great H and a goose.

John Sibert was the first who introduced the art into Cambridge, and printed there in Latin, Greek, and English. His books bear date 1521 to 1522. The period when printing was introduced into Wales has

\* The names of types originated in the books for which particular sizes were employed; as in this case, Pica, from being used in the pica or liturgy of the Church.



not been ascertained, but the name of John Thackwell, in 1587, is on record. It would be of little interest to pursue this inquiry further, since there are now very few towns of any importance where the printing-press has not been established.

The oldest specimens of Greek printing consists of detached passages and citations, found in a few of the first printed copies of Latin authors, such as Lactantius in 1465 ; the Aulus Gellius and Apuleius of Sweynheim and Pannartz of 1469, and some works of Besarion at Rome without date. In all these the Greek typography is legibly and creditably executed ; whereas some later citations in Greek are so deformed as to be scarcely legible. The first entirely printed Greek book was Lascari's Grammar, by Denis de Paravicino and Dominic de Vespolate.\* The character of this rare volume is elegant. In 1481, from the same place and press, issued a Greek Psalter, with Latin translations, by Crestoni, a monk of Milan. The printing of Greek books was pursued with spirit for several years at Milan, and stirred up the jealousy of the Venetian printers ; but it was ten years before they succeeded in producing any work in that character. Since then printing with Greek types has been pursued with great

\* See Orlandi, p. 104, and Prosper Marchand, p. 63.

spirit on the continent, as well as in England, and the beauty of the Greek types here is fully equal if not superior to those of any other country. Hebrew characters were also formed about 1476.\* The Psalms, with the commentary of Kimshi by Joseph, and Chaim Mordecai and Monro; in 1477, the Pentateuch, with the Targum and Commentary of Jarchi—Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, and Lamentations with the Commentary of Jarchi, and Esther with the Commentary of Abenezra, all in 1482 at Bologna, and the former and latter prophets at Soncini in 1486. Since that time the Arabic, the Sanscrit, the Chinese, in fact, the characters of every language and every dialect differing, in any material degree, from its parent stock, and even those requisite to represent the special contractions of Domesday Book, and other peculiar works, have been formed and cast by the skill of the type-founders of Great Britain, France, and Germany. On the visit of the Pope to assist at the coronation of Bonaparte, the imperial printing-office at Paris produced 300 copies of the Lord's prayer, in as many different languages and characters.

Without entering upon the process of type-casting,

\* In a volume printed by Eslingen Purer, 1475, by P. Nigri contra Judeos, are Hebrew characters, said to be the first.

I shall proceed to shew how the types are put together, so as to produce the effect intended. This is effected by the compositor, who stands before a pair of cases, as they are termed, which have previously been filled with type, each pair holding from 60 to 100 lbs. The upper case is divided into ninety-eight square divisions, all of the same size, for the capitals, small capitals, and other kinds of letters not in very general use. The lower case is formed of divisions of different sizes, according to the quantity of letters they are intended to contain, which is regulated by the language—the English and French, and other languages, requiring each a larger assortment of particular letters.

Various projects have been formed to facilitate the labour of the compositor, but for a long period with little effect. Ged, about the end of the last century, tried the plan of casting words and terminations, which he termed *logographic* printing; but it was found too intricate and difficult for use. An imitation of stereotype plates was first made by Vander May, about the end of the 16th century, at Leyden, who soldered his types together, though he did not make them into stereotyped plates. Stereotype, however, has since been extensively and successfully used in England, and by this process books in common and ordinary use are multiplied to an extraordinary degree. In casting, the

pages of type, after being set up and corrected, are placed on a slab, with a frame put round them—plaster of Paris is then poured over; and when the mixture is hardened, the mould is taken off, put into an iron dipping-pot, as it is termed, and immersed in a caldron of liquid metal for about ten minutes, when it is taken out, and set over a cistern of water to cool. It is then cut into pages, cleaned, corrected, and put away until required for use, when 100,000 copies or more may be taken off. One house in London (Clowes) has plates which cost £200,000; another house in the country has stereotype plates worth £26,000.

In stereotyping the French seem to have adopted the process some years before it was practised in England. We find in Camus a description of the manner of casting the plates from which were printed the assignats, issued in the early part of the French revolution of 1789, which enabled the governing powers to put forth the most extraordinary exertions in meeting the invaders of the country.

By means of stereotype plates, the price of books has been materially reduced. In the early part of the nineteenth century, the types of works in general demand, both by German and French printers, were kept standing, as it is called, ready for use. In 1729, James and Fenner, of London, entered into partnership with

Ged, to prosecute the plan discovered by the latter. In 1782, Tilloch joined Messrs. Foulis, of Glasgow, for the purpose of carrying on the stereotype business. In 1784, M. Hoffman, of Alsace, succeeded in manufacturing stereotype plates from moulds of clay mixed with gelatine; but this process was speedily abandoned. In 1785, M. Carez, of Toul, succeeded in attaching a page of moveable types, properly fastened, to the end of a heavy piece of wood, and let it fall sharply on lead in a state of fusion, but on the point of setting. In this process it frequently happened that the types were melted when the lead was too hot, or bruised when too cold; yet the plan of polytyping, which is not very dissimilar, is carried on to this time, while the use of more perfect machinery and improved metal has greatly simplified the process.

Thus M. Firmin Didot, of Paris, by casting his types in a hard metal, and using a fly-press, succeeded in obtaining a series of plates, the clearness of which was perfect, from which he printed upwards of two hundred volumes, known by the name of the stereotype edition. M. Herhan, who had been a partner of M. Didot, resorted to another method, but that being more expensive and inconvenient than the plan of M. Didot, both were subsequently superseded by the process invented by Lord Stanhope, in 1800. This nobleman,

whose exertions for the improvement of the printing art deserve to be held in remembrance, resuming the first attempts at stereotyping, moulded in plaster, or in alabaster, the pages composed with ordinary types, and obtained casts in relief, after drying the moulds in a proper manner, and plunging them into a vessel filled with metal in a state of fusion. This process is nearly similar to the plan now followed.

Attempts have been made to substitute for plaster moulds the employment of sheets of paper, with whiting placed between them, but the results appear to be inferior. The Rubeland Ducal Foundry Inspection has produced specimens of stereotype formed in cast iron, and the Bible printed from it shews a new application of that metal.

The printing off the sheets is the duty of the pressmen, two of whom are employed in working a hand-press—one in putting on the ink, the other in pressing the paper on the types. This press appears to have remained without improvement until within the last fifty or sixty years, since which time it has been rendered quite a new machine. By the old wooden two-pull press the common number printed off was 250 in an hour; to double that number required excessive labour, and could not be long continued; indeed it

was only in newspaper offices that such exertion was attempted.

Early publications are generally distinguishable by the mark or vignette of the typographer;\* monograms or ciphers were also much in vogue, these frequently containing the initial letters of the printer's name, or some curious device. A familiar acquaintance with these is desirable, being of great service in ascertaining the identity of publications that are without date. The earliest specimen extant is that of Faust and Schœffer, annexed to their first psalter, consisting of two ecues or shields tied together, and suspended from a branch exhibiting their respective arms. A. V., enclosed in a square, designated the works of Antoine Verard of Paris—the *anchor* is the mark of Raphelengius at Leyden—the *arion*, of Sporinus at Basle—the *caduces* or *Pegasus*, of Wechelus of Paris and Frankfort—the *fountain*, of Vascosan at Paris—the *sphere*, of Janson or Bleau at Amsterdam—the *lily of the Junta*, at Venice, Florence, Lyons, and Rome—the *mulberry-tree*, of Morell at Paris—the *olive-tree*, of the Elzevirs at Amsterdam and Leyden—the *printing-press*, of Badius—the *anchor and dolphin*, of Aldus, the celebrity of whose editions was so deservedly great that his mark was

\* "C'est cette année" (1500), says M. Didot, "qu'Alde introduisit l'usage du caractère penché, appelé italique ou *Aldino*, dont le modèle lui fut donné, dit-on, par l'écriture même de Pétrarque."

counterfeited, but this counterfeit is readily discovered by the clumsiness of the engraving. Caxton had several ciphers; one was a device, consisting of the initials W. C., within an upper and lower border of rude foliage, and lozenges upon black and white grounds, and between the letters an arbitrary sign meant to convey the date 74, as 1474 is usually supposed to have been the year in which Caxton commenced printing. Wynkyn de Worde was brought into this country by Caxton, and succeeded him, frequently using the same device. His letter, which he is supposed to have himself cast, is so true, and ranges so well, as not to have been since excelled; he was a curious, laborious, and indefatigable printer. The monogram of Faques, the king's printer, consisted of a white triangle based on the apex of a black one, in each are two texts from the Latin Vulgate, from the 16th chapter of Proverbs. John Day, who distinguished himself between 1546 and 1584 by the variety and importance of his publications, had for his motto "Arise, for it is day," in witty reference perhaps to his own name, and that night of ignorance which was dispersed by printing and the enlightening powers of the reformation.

Signatures, of great use in the collating of sheets for the use of the binder, are alleged, by Palmer, to have been invented by Anthony Zarot, and are found in a



work printed by him at Milan, in 1470; but they are not found in some works printed by him subsequently to that date. Signatures are to be found in ancient MSS., which in the first instance the earlier printers very studiously imitated.

A few of the English devices will lead to a better understanding of them than any description. Hone has given an alphabetical list of 153 of these in his *Introduction to Biography*. To that work, therefore, I will refer those who wish for fuller information on this peculiar subject.

From considering the marks and devices adopted by the first printers, the transition is easy to inquire a little into the position in which they were considered to stand with the world. Learned themselves, and engaged in printing from ancient and classical manuscripts they were naturally the associates of the first literary characters of the time—indeed, in the infancy of printing, and long afterwards, the occupation was considered highly honourable, and was only undertaken by well-educated persons. It became the glory of the learned to be known as correctors of the press to literary printers—physicians, lawyers, bishops, and even popes themselves, occupied this department; their names were mentioned on the copies as correctors of the press, and the editions were valued accordingly.

When Sweynheim and Pannartz were invited to set up a press at Rome, they were encouraged by all the men of letters there, and the Pope himself visited their printing-house, and examined with admiration every branch of the new art. The Bishop of Aleria furnished them with the most valuable manuscripts out of the Vatican and other libraries, and also prepared the copy, corrected the proofs, and prefixed dedications and prefaces to their works—Peter Cenini of Florence invariably compared and corrected his editions of the Classics with the most ancient manuscripts. The Archbishop of Tours, in 1496, established the first press in his own palace at Tours. The Spiras, 1469, at Venice, surpassed all other printers in the beauty and symmetry of their types and the elegance of their impressions, which render their editions admired and esteemed. For correctors they had two of the most learned men of their age—Christopher Berardus of Pesauero, and George Alexandrinus. Zarot of Milan, whose main province was the printing of classics, which he executed with extraordinary diligence and accuracy, had the famous Peter Justin Philelphus, and Stephen Dulcinio, prebend of Scala, as his correctors of the press.

Caxton was highly esteemed, and held a friendly intercourse with two men, famous in their day—Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, and Anthony Widvile, Earl Rivers

—as well as with the Duchess of Burgundy, who encouraged him to continue his translation of the History of Troy, which he afterwards printed. Aldus Manutius, whether the descendant of a noble family or the son of a converted Jew, will live in the memory of man so long as there remains in the world a love of literature, for his patient and unwearied assiduity in rescuing the labours of the writers of Greece and of Rome from the dark oblivion of the middle ages, to which object he devoted the best years of his life and the whole of his fortune. He paid the most sedulous attention to his printing-office, carried on an extensive correspondence with the literati of Europe, explained the classics to a numerous auditory of students, and also found time to compose various works, which are characterised by profound learning. If not the first who set up a Greek press, there is no doubt that he evinced great zeal in re-establishing the study of this language, by the number and variety of the Greek authors which he gave to the public. Conscious that his single labours were inadequate to the diffusion of literature, he assembled around him a circle of the most learned men of the age, formed them into a society, which he called *Aldi Neacademia*, which rendered the most essential services to the interests of literature. Peter Alcyonius, Marcus Musurus, Demetrius Chalcondylus, and Alexander

Bondinus, driven from their own country, found refuge with Aldus, and contributed essentially to the correctness of the editions of his classical works. Aldus was deservedly ennobled, as were others of this profession. Philip de Lignamine was of the equestrian order, and the favourite and confidential friend of the Pope—Nicholas Jansen was made count-palatine of the Rhine—Sixtus Russenger was ennobled by Ferdinand, king of Naples—John Mentilius was ennobled by the emperor, Frederic III.—John Gutenberg also, the original inventor of the art, was ennobled by Archbishop Adolphus,\* the elector of Mentz. All of them, being of the higher class, bore arms, and many individuals amongst them were distinguished by peculiar marks of the favour of the sovereigns in whose times they flourished. This will show what influence the profession exercised upon individuals, and at the same time mark the influence of the art in promoting the general advantage. It does not fall within the scope of these observations to pursue the subject farther, otherwise it might have been shown that the professors of the art at a later period have not fallen into a lower grade, but that some of its professors have exercised a large influence upon the fate of empires and the prosperity of nations. Of

\* See Marchand, Pt. 2, p. 13; also Kœhler, Ehren Guttenberg, p. 100, and Lichtenberger, p. 9.

this, in our own day, the history of France furnishes many illustrious examples.

Having thus shewn the influence which the Art of Printing exercised upon its earliest professors, I will now endeavour to point out the manner of its direct influence upon the public mind, which was of course effected by the facility and rapidity with which books of literature and science were produced. Between the years 1465 and 1601, ninety-one *first* editions of classic writers appeared on the continent; but so few were the manuscript copies of these writers which were then known or appreciated in England, that there was not one of these first editions produced by its press. The number of books printed on the continent and in England, in the fifteenth century, were 8509, of which Augsburg contributed 256, Basle 320, Bologna 298, Cologne 530, Florence 300, Leipsic 351, Louvain 116, Mentz 134, Milan 629, Nuremberg 282, Paris 751, Rome 925, Strasburg 526, Venice 2835, London 31, Westminster 100, Oxford 7, St. Albans 4; forming a total of 8509. If to this time England contributed so small a portion to the literature of the world, no nation has since made such rapid and effectual strides in the promotion of knowledge, nearly 2000 works being at present annually produced. One society alone in this country, the British and Foreign Bible Society, has,

since March 1804 (when it was commenced), issued not less than twenty-six millions of Bibles and Testaments, in 148 different languages or dialects. This has not been the only institution established for this particular purpose. In 1710, Charles Hildebrand, baron of Canstein in Germany, established a printing-office at Halle, for the purpose of printing and selling Bibles and Testaments at a moderate price. So successful has that institution been, that upwards of 3,000,000 copies of the entire Bible have been sold from it. Thus does the Book of Truth beam upon the many nations of the earth through this mighty invention of printing!

The correctness with which printers of repute perform their work, must be to those who have at all considered the operation a matter of great surprise; every letter being a separate piece of metal, requiring to be lifted out of the case of types, and adjusted in a small frame. In this manner a middling sized octavo volume, containing in some cases hundreds of thousands of these separate pieces, any single piece of which inverted, omitted, or transposed, forms a blunder often greatly affecting the meaning and intention of the author. From a calculation by the printer of Stevens' edition of Shakespeare, it is seen that every octavo page of that work, text and notes, contains 2680 distinct pieces of metal, which

in a sheet of sixteen pages amounts to 42,880, the misplacing of any one of which would inevitably cause a blunder. With this curious fact before us, the accurate state of our printing in general is to be admired, and *errata* ought more freely to be pardoned than the fastidious minuteness of the insect eye of certain critics has allowed. Blunders of this description are literally *errata*, with care and attention to be corrected—and such may be reckoned the 7000 *errata* which Sterne found in one edition of the Bible, and the fifteen pages of errors occurring in an early edition of a classical author; so also a version of the Epistles of St. Paul, printed in the Ethiopic language, was so full of errors that the printer excused himself by alleging, that “they who printed the book could not read, we could not print; they helped us, and we helped them, as the blind lead the blind.” In a similar way, possibly, may have arisen the errors in the Greek Lexicon of Constantine, though it has been alleged that the work has not fewer errors of the author than of the printer. There can be no doubt that to accomplish a correct work, particularly in a classical or foreign language, the compositor ought previously to have some knowledge of its principles and character. Once in the course of my life, at least, I should have found it particularly useful and convenient if I had more largely

benefited by the lessons and instructions of my earlier years, and preserved some better knowledge of Grecian literature. On my first engagement as a printer, Middleton on the Greek article was placed in my hands to compose; this work had many Greek quotations, which caused me no little trouble, but which I succeeded in overcoming. Since then, however, I have lost my Greek spectacles, and it is too late now to recover them. This observation recalls to my memory the circumstance to which I allude. Some may remember or have heard of Mr. Dalton of Knaith, near Gainsborough, perhaps somewhat eccentric in his ways, but a gentleman and a scholar, who died some thirty years ago at his seat there. I was employed to take a catalogue and value his library, in which there was the best collection of the Delphin and other Latin and Greek classics which I had then seen. In the course of my employment I looked into them to ascertain dates, &c. One of the legatees, Mr. Malthus, the brother of a gentleman whose name most have heard of, seeing me examine some Greek works, inquired if I knew the language, to which I replied "Just a little, sufficient to encourage me to grope my way." "Ah!" says he, "whatever I may have known of that language formerly, I know little of it now, having lost my Greek spectacles!" Since then, when I see a gentleman



labouring to translate a Greek or other foreign quotation, I am apt to suspect he might as well admit he had lost his Greek spectacles.

It is deeply to be regretted that the leaders of an ecclesiastical body, professing to regulate the opinions of no small portion of Europe, should, for any object of worldly policy, have given sanction to the proposals of an ignorant monk, whose mind was cramped and controlled by bigotry and superstition, not only to prohibit the use of the scriptures, in which they profess to find the doctrines of their faith, but to restrict within the compass of a contracted and uncultivated understanding the expansive powers of the human mind, a blessing bestowed upon his creatures by the Author of all good, in order that they might haply understand something of the wonders of his creation.

Some errors in the printing of the Bible are gross and unfortunate. The wife of a printer engaged in an edition of the Bible, is said intentionally to have omitted the negative in the commandment, "Thou shalt *not* commit adultery," thus giving a sanction to the crime; but as a similar error was made in an edition of the Latin Vulgate printed under the supervision of Sextus V., also in an edition of the Bible printed at London in 1632, as well as in a Bible from the German press of Canstein—the lady ought to

have the benefit of the common blunder, and be exonerated from intentional error. Whether the widow of another printer, engaged on an edition of a German Bible, may be entitled to this excuse, is somewhat doubtful. In the absence of the workmen she took out the first two letters from *Herr* (Lord), substituting *Na* instead, thus rendering the passage in Genesis iii. 16, instead of "He shall be thy Lord," to "He shall be thy Fool;" the lady, perhaps, had not previously met with the wisest of helpmates.

One author, in order to escape from the penalty of an infringement of the directions issued by the Inquisition at Rome, that the word *fate* should not be used, printed in his book instead the word *facta*, almost all works being then printed in Latin, then the language of the scholar; but in an *errata* he desired the reader to substitute *fata* for *facta*, thus in one instance only using the proscribed word. Some have made the *errata* a vehicle for venting their spite and dislike. Scarron dedicated some verses to Guillemete, "Chienne de ma Sœur;" but having afterwards a quarrel with his sister, he directed in the *errata* to read instead, "Ma chienne de Sœur."

The author of an idle and imperfect book ended with the usual phrase *cetera desiderantur*, the rest wanting; another altered it to *non desiderantur sed desunt*, the

rest wanting but not wanted; another, at the end of a silly book put the usual *finis*—a wit put in the *errata*—

“*Finis*! an error or a lie, my friend,  
In writing foolish books there is no end.”

Some books are noticed in consequence of the translation of some passage being peculiar or whimsical. Thus, the Bible translated by Coverdale, and printed at Geneva, translated a word in Genesis iii. 7, by the word *Breeches*; hence this, and another edition in quarto of the same by Barker, in 1578, is usually called the *Breeches Bible*. Perhaps the tailors may adduce this reading as an evidence of the antiquity of their art, and our modern *bloomers* also as the proper rendering. In the Bishop's Bible it was rendered *Apron*, a simple covering, and no doubt the proper meaning.

It has been asserted by some printers that their books were without error. Chevalier treats this as a *rara avis*, a *black swan*, as a book absolutely without error is almost an impossibility, and any such claim of purity as *jeux de vers*, or *licences poetiques*; earnest endeavours have been made to arrive at this desideratum. So anxious was Robert Stephens, a celebrated printer of the middle of the sixteenth century, that his editions should be free of error, that he hung up the proofs in public places, and rewarded those who were acute enough to detect an error. This example was followed

by the Foulis' of Glasgow, printers of some excellent editions of the classics, though in what is termed their immaculate edition several errors have been detected—as well as by other printers, particularly in towns where universities were established; but the only effectual and certain remedy is in securing a careful and practical Reader, who must not only be possessed of a microscopic eye, capable of detecting every error, but also be an enlightened judge of the purity of his own language. The general style of the author he cannot of course interfere with; but it is his duty to call the author or editor's attention to repetitions, incorrect assertions, faults in grammar and punctuation. The labour of the *Reader* is greatly lessened by the care and attention of the compositor, if a *clean*, careful workman—that is to say, *correct* in his composition.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE RESULTS OF PRINTING.

Sometimes for vanity I converse  
With kings and conquerors, weigh their counsels,  
Calling their victories, if unjustly got,  
Unto a strict account.

AWOL.

THERE is no doubt that something of a similar nature to the newspaper of the present day existed in Rome. In the galleries which Cicero constructed at his villa of Tusculum, in imitation of the schools of Athens, among the amusements of those who frequented them was that of a daily newspaper, the *Acta Diurna*, which recorded the chief occurrences of public note and general interest, with the more private intelligence of births, deaths, and marriages, and fashionable arrivals, in much the same manner as newspapers of modern date; for instance—

“On the 26th of July, thirty boys and forty girls were born at Trimalchus’ estate at Cuma.”

“At the same time a slave was put to death for uttering disrespectful words against his lord.”

“ The same day a fire broke out in Pompey’s gardens, which began in the night in the steward’s apartments.”

Ovid, who was born 43 B.C., and who died A.D. 18, notices these, and at the same time the desire of the Roman people for news, and which is quite as applicable to the present times :—

“ Hither in crowds the vulgar come and go,  
Millions of rumours here fly to and fro ;  
Lies mix’d with truth, reports that vary still,  
The itching ears of folks unguarded fill :  
They tell the tale—the tale in telling grows,  
And each relater adds to what he knows.  
Rash error, light credulity are here,  
And causeless transport and ill-grounded fear ;  
New-raised sedition, secret whispers blown  
By nameless authors, and of things unknown.  
Fame all that’s done in heaven, earth, ocean, views,  
And o’er the world still hunts about for news.”

A publication of a similar character to the Roman *Acta Diurna* seems to have been in use in this country. Ben Jonson, whose pen scarcely any characteristic of his time escaped, introduces the news-writer in his masque of *News from the New World*, presented at court in 1620; and one of the characters describes himself as “ factor for news for all the shires of England. I do write my thousand letters a week ordinary, sometimes one thousand two hundred, and main-

tain the business at some charge, both to hold up my reputation with mine own ministers in town, and my friends of correspondence in the country. I have friends of all ranks and of all religions, for which I keep an answering catalogue of despatch, wherein I have my Puritan news, my Protestant news, and my Pontifical news." Such is Ben Jonson's description of the news-writer. One of these writers the town-council of Glasgow is said to have retained for the purpose of supplying them with a weekly news-letter—a series of which communications, descending as low as 1711, has been discovered in Glammis Castle, in Scotland; and there can be little doubt that many of the country gentry had their regular correspondents, who supplied them with the current news of the day, the preparation of which gave employment to no inconsiderable number of persons in London. Ben Jonson, to whom I have already referred, seems to note the change from the written to the introduction of the printed news-letter, in his *Staple of News*, acted in 1625, twenty-five years subsequent to the presentation of his *Masque*, where he inveighs against the published pamphlets of news, sent out every Saturday, but "made all at home, and no syllable of truth in them; than which there cannot be a greater disease in nature, or a fouler scorn put upon the times."

“———Unto some,  
The very printing of them makes them news  
That have not the heart to believe anything  
But what they see in print.”

The reign of Elizabeth is generally referred to as the period when the English newspaper commenced; and three copies of “The English Mercurie (Nos. 50, 51, 54), published by authority, for the purpose of preventing false reports,” preserved in the British Museum among Sir Hans Sloane’s MSS., are referred to as establishing the fact. One of these, dated July 23, 1588, gives an account from Sir Francis Walsingham that the Spanish armada was seen in the chops of the Channel, making for the entrance with a favourable gale; another contains an account of an audience given to the lord mayor, &c., of London, to present an address, assuring the Queen of their resolution to stand by her with their lives and fortunes to the last. Another, the third, of July 26, gives an account of an audience to the Scottish ambassador, bringing a letter from James assuring her of his resolution to adhere to her interest and to those of the Protestant religion. In other numbers are said to be articles by Burleigh, calculated to inflame the national feeling; and a letter is inserted as from Madrid, stating the quantities of instruments of torture put on board the Spanish fleet, and the determination of the



Spanish government to put Queen Elizabeth to death. Besides articles of news, some few advertisements of books are inserted. Such is the statement of Chalmers in his life of Ruddiman; but modern scepticism and closer examination have cast a doubt upon the authenticity of the statement, and the printed sheets, upon which the whole rests, are alleged to be forgeries of the last century. In fact, it is now known that these newspapers were got up by Walpole and a few of his friends for the purpose of amusement. A few words illustrative of this subject may not be out of place. The Armada first sailed on the 30th May 1588, but, being dispersed and shattered in a storm, it returned to Spain to refit. It was on this occasion probably that the medal *Afflavit Deus et dissipantur* was issued, as Elizabeth fully expected the danger was then over. Early in July the Armada again set out; about the 13th or 14th it was seen off the Lizard, and on the 20th off the Eddystone; the wind being adverse, it was not till the 22nd that the British fleet could get out of port, when it met and engaged the Armada. On the 23d they were off Portland; on the 25th they were off the Isle of Wight, the British being obliged, on the 24th, to send into port for a supply of ammunition; off the Wight, Drake met the Spaniards, and compelled them to make for Calais for shelter. On the 28th fire-ships were sent in

amongst the Spaniards, which compelled each ship to escape as it could. The Armada, being unable afterwards to get back to Calais, turned tail, cowed and defeated, and attempted to get home by the Orkneys. Their misfortunes it is needless further to detail. In these supposed newspapers there are three facts stated. In that of the 23d July, Walsingham advises that the Armada was off the chops of the Channel—it was there on the 14th or 15th; and on the 23d, after at least two days' fighting, the Spanish fleet was off Portland, a considerable way up the Channel. The *Mercurie* of the 26th July, states that an audience was then given to the Scottish ambassador. So far from this being the case, history states that James—his mother Mary having been murdered only in the preceding year—held the English cabinet in suspense, until he had extorted the most magnificent promises from Ashby, the resident ambassador of Elizabeth, at his court at Edinburgh; and it was not till the 4th of August, when James might have seen the Armada fleeing in disorder past his own shores, that he forbade his subjects to aid the Spaniards, and offered to aid Elizabeth with all his forces; no ambassador of the Scottish king was therefore likely to have been sent, or to have had an audience on the 26th of July. The audience to the lord mayor is probable, but whether

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at Westminster or Tilbury is of little consequence. Stow, who is very particular in every thing connected with the city, and was then nearly closing his history, neither mentions the audience, nor hints at the existence of any newspaper; neither does Speed, nor any authority that I have been able to meet with. The whole, therefore, still rests on the papers themselves; the name of Christopher Barker as the printer is of little consequence, as he must be a bungler indeed who could not invent, or select, a tolerably probable name. Even here, however, there is great room for doubt; as I find a proclamation by the Queen, dated February 13, 1588, as printed by the *Deputies* of Christopher Barker, at the time assumed by the *Mercurie*; therefore Christopher had been out of business some months, and further, in July, 1588, at the time when these papers are supposed to have been printed, Field and Barker were printers to the Queen's majesty.

Leaving this matter, if at all doubtful, to the examination of future investigators, I will state facts which are less in dispute. In 1598, the *Mercurius Gallo Belgicus* appeared in Latin at Cologne, but it is rather an annual register than a newspaper. May, in his comedy of *The Heir*, acted in 1620, opens with the following observations:—

“*Polymetus*.—Hast thou divulged the news  
That my son died at Athens?

*Roscio.*—Yes, my Lord,  
With every circumstance, the time, the place,  
And manner of his death: that 'tis believed  
And told for *news* with as much confidence  
As if 'twere writ in Gallo Belgicus."

It was not, however, till 1622 that the *Certain News of the present Week* appeared, which is deemed to be the *first newspaper* published in England. This is somewhat borne out by an advertisement of the printer, requesting those who wish to buy the weekly relation of news, to let him know, as he purposes to continue it weekly, by God's assistance, from the best and most certain intelligence. The cause of its appearance probably originated in the fact, that at this period the thirty years' war, and the exploits of Gustavus Adolphus, had greatly excited the curiosity of all classes. When this excitement terminated, the newspaper would lose its influence; but "when civil dudgeon first grew high," and the disputes between Charles and his parliament commenced in 1640, the desire of information produced a numerous supply of publications, both in the shape of pamphlets and news, the latter generally being confined to details of transactions, without engaging in political controversy. Impatient, however, as a distracted people must have been for information, the newspapers were distributed at first only weekly; but in the progress of events, and in the ardour of

curiosity, they were distributed twice in every week, second editions not yet having been introduced. Such were the newspapers called the *French Intelligencer*, the *Dutch Spy*, the *Irish Mercury*, and the *Scots Dove*, the *Parliament Kite*, the *Secret Owl*, *Perfect Diurnal*, *Mercurius Britannicus*, *Mercurius Civicus*, and *Welsh Mercury*; *Mercurius Acheronticus* brought news from the infernal regions, *Mercurius Democritus* communicated wonderful news from the world in the moon, and the *Mercurius Martix* faithfully lashed all *Scouts*, *Mercuries*, *Posts*, *Spies*, and other *Intelligencers*. It would little interest the public now-a-days, to notice one-tenth of the titles of the newspapers which, during the grand rebellion, issued from the press—many of them ridiculous enough; as, for instance, the *Mercurius Jocosus* (*Joking*), *Mercurius Fumigosus* (*Smoking*), *Mercurius Insanus*, *Insanissimus*, &c., which would almost lead to the suspicion, that the public generally was little interested in the quarrel, although they might be desirous to learn facts, except when suffering from the violence of the different parties; but it is certain little improvement had yet been made either in the contents or appearance of these newspapers, being most generally printed in a small quarto size, and detailing, according to the discretion of the partisan writers, events connected with their own side of the question in dispute.

Even so late as the reign of Queen Anne, little or no improvement appears to have taken place in the form or character of the newspaper. Latterly, these have been so great objects of curiosity, that *fac-similes* of Scottish and other newspapers have been printed—one, dated 19th February, 1705, which, being the first of the series, it is reasonable to presume was fully equal in its appearance and composition to any others of the same period. The information given is very meagre, and presents little of the character of the newspaper of the present times. As we advance farther into the century, however, a considerable improvement is perceptible; much of this was owing to the stimulus given to our councils by the zealous and resolute bearing of the elder William Pitt, and the successes of the British arms under his auspices in every quarter of the globe, which necessarily increased the demand for information. In 1759 this was particularly the case: every ship from India came fraught with tidings of continued success to the British cause. In January we received the news of the capture of Goree, in June of the capture of Guadaloupe, in August came the tidings of the victory of Minden, in September of the victory of Lugos, in October of the victory at Quebec, in November of the victory at Quiberon. "Indeed," says Horace Walpole, "one is forced to ask every morning

what victory there is, for fear of missing one." The newspaper press then began to assume a more prominent position, and political subjects to form a part of their contents, though the editor, possibly alarmed at the responsibility thus incurred, sheltered himself by bringing them before the public as private communications. These, however, were often written with great boldness ; still it was upon small pamphlets, handbills, and *runners*, or coffee-house spies, that the principal dependence was placed for the support of ministers against Pitt, who in 1761 had been displaced. This probably shews that the satisfaction of the metropolis was the object in view ; but the letters of Junius—even still in *nominis umbra*—which appeared in 1769, in the *Public Advertiser*, drew the public interest and attention in an uncommon degree. That was further encouraged by the failure, in 1770, of the House of Commons to restrain the publication of their debates, which had hitherto appeared under feigned names and places, and thus gave a character and importance to the newspaper press which it had not previously possessed. The misfortunes of the American contest, and the vaticinating denunciations of the imperious Chatham, still further tended to improve the newspaper press, and to shew its expansive and influential powers.

It was, however, to the era of the French Revolution,

which commenced in 1789, a few years after the close of the American contest, that the newspaper press assumed importance, and was looked upon as the powerful and decided advocate of the abstract principles of right, then promulgated to the world by the leaders of that revolutionary movement. At that period the debates in Parliament were objects of the deepest interest, when Pitt, Fox, Burke, Sheridan, and other orators of almost equal power—*there were giants in those days*—were competitors, and principles the most interesting and important were involved in the discussion. The whole population of Britain in its remotest corners felt an interest in the struggle—partisans of French liberty, equality, and fraternity, friends of the people and revolutionary societies, were to be found in every town and village—all anxious to adopt French fraternization and French principles. Then the poet sang—

“O’er the vine-covered hills and gay valleys of France,  
See the day-star of liberty rise.”

Alas! alas! this has been the poet’s tale—an empty dream; and the proceedings resulting justified fearfully the exclamation of Madame Roland, herself one of the early zealots and victims of the revolution—“O liberty, liberty! what crimes are committed in thy name.” During the long course of sixty years, France, according



to one of its own writers, has been the **greatest school** of immorality in the world, and the tragedy commenced so long since has still gone on; most of the authors and abettors of the Revolution felt the axe of the guillotine, and the market-places of every town in France streamed with the blood of their citizens. Two thousand persons perished at Arras and Cambrai under the tyranny of Lebon, a commissioner of the French Assembly; and, when Robespierre's overthrow put a stop to his career, a trench had just been dug under the scaffold large enough to receive sixty-four heads at a time. Even the fusillades and the guillotine were found to be too slow in their progress, and thousands were immolated in the *noyades* of the Rhone, or transported to the swamps of Sinamara, until the people of France were glad to forswear liberty, and crouch under the iron rod of a military despot—the only person to govern such a nation as the French then were—and hug the chains which gave them peace. Even yet the current of the Revolution is advancing, and, notwithstanding so long a series of years has elapsed, that country is still labouring, and the end is not yet.

It is to the undaunted and courageous bearing of old George III., and the skilful and persevering resolution of his ministers, when all Europe else crouched under military despotism, that the British people are

indebted for the peace and security which they have since enjoyed, when one false step would have precipitated them into the gulf of revolution. The British constitution, like the ark of the covenant, has breasted the waters and carried its people hitherto through every storm—under its flag is to be found the true land of liberty, where the dominion of the law still maintains its predominance. *Esto perpetua!*

The journals of this country far surpass in usefulness and value those of any other whatever, and discuss public measures with a talent which is borrowed (and often but imperfectly) for more solemn deliberation; for the duties of a minister are considerably relieved by the luminous exposition which every question receives before it is submitted for public discussion. The influence of the press, it has been alleged, can never be operative for harm, since it results only from the harmony of its appeals with the instinctive sentiments of the minds of men, which ultimately always partake more of reason than of passion. It can only persuade by candid explanation, and convince by logical proofs. No popular influence can permanently establish a fallacy, nor can any organ of opinion be long preserved in which fallacies are maintained for truth. The opinions it promulgates must necessarily be found-

ed in common sense and sound reason ; nor can any organ of dishonest sentiments retain sufficient influence long to give them material currency. The power of the newspaper press it may be allowed, therefore, is neither irresponsible nor unlimited ; at the same time it must be admitted, that the press, by zealously adopting or giving currency to opinions urged, and continued to be urged, upon the public by irresponsible societies—a practice too common in this country—sometimes gives a sanction to doctrines which, however ultimately discovered to be erroneous when adopted by the legislature, it is impossible to annul or recall.

It has been lately asserted, that there is a moral certainty that the influence and power of the press must become greater. This depends so much upon contingencies which are in the womb of time, that it might be at present difficult to deny that such may be the case ; but remove the duty payable on newspapers, let the transfer of them by post be separately charged, and I suspect the influence of the metropolitan press and its value would be speedily absorbed amongst the multitude of local mushroom newspapers which would speedily inundate the country, possessed of little of either character or talent. The state of the American press is perhaps a justification of this opinion. At present


and for a long time past, the influence of the British newspaper press has been great, nor need I travel far to seek for an evidence of this. Napoleon, during one of the short periods of peace between this country and France, was so annoyed by the free remarks made upon his political conduct by the English newspapers, that he went so far as to say, that if those attacks were continued, he would cross the Channel with 400,000 men, and demand satisfaction at the point of the bayonet. It is not difficult to understand what liberty the newspaper press then enjoyed in France under such a champion, or what would have been its state here had Bonaparte succeeded in his wish.

I have stated in a former part of these observations, that by means of the old printing-press, which continued to be in use until nearly the commencement of this century, 250 sheets were commonly thrown off, and on an emergency for a short time that number might be doubled. This number was, however, too limited to meet the wants of the public; and the demands for a prompt circulation of political intelligence, required a power of printing newspapers beyond the reach of the most expeditious hand press-work. The late ingenious Earl Stanhope improved the ancient printing-press. The principal alteration he made was in forming the en-

tire press of iron, the plate being large enough to print a whole sheet at once, instead of requiring a double action ; but, as this press did not much exceed the old one in productiveness, it did not supply the public wants. The first person who publicly projected a self-inking printing-press, was Mr. William Nicholson, editor of the *Philosophical Journal*, who obtained a patent in 1790-1, for imposing types on a cylindrical surface ; but unfortunately, however ingenious the principle, he failed in his attempt to attach types to a cylinder. M. Koenig, a clockmaker from Saxony, in 1804, failing to interest the continental printers in his project of improving the printing-press, came to London, and in 1811 obtained a patent for working the common hand-press with power ; but after much expense he renounced this project. He then turned his thoughts to using a cylinder for communicating pressure instead of a flat plate, in which he was successful, and on the 28th November 1814, *The Times* was first published by steam-impelled machinery. In this machine the form of type traversed horizontally under the pressure of the cylinder, with which the sheet of paper was closely held by means of a series of endless tapes. The great difficulty was the inking apparatus, which was not overcome until a fortunate discovery, made by Cowper, superseded the ancient

stuffed, round-formed ball, and substituted one of an entirely new form and construction.

By a slight improvement in the traversing of the form on the opposite side of the balls, or inking apparatus, 1100 impressions per hour were attained, and, subsequently, 1800 within the same time.

In 1815, Koenig set up for Mr. Bentley a new register apparatus, for printing on both sides, and by which 750 sheets were printed on both sides in an hour. About the same time, Donkin and Bacon set up, for the University of Cambridge, a beautiful specimen of ingenious contrivance, though too complicated for common workmen, and defective in the new inking rollers of glue, combined with treacle,  one of the most useful inventions of modern typography, and giving a value to the steam-press, without which it would always have been defective.

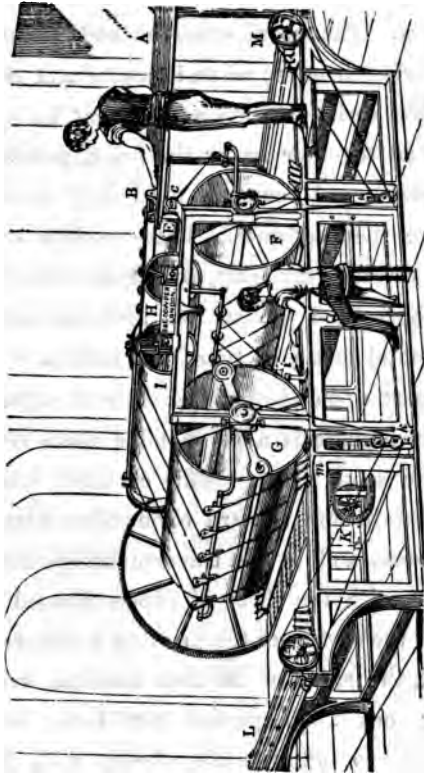
The advantage of securing types or plates upon the cylinder occupied much attention. Nicholson sought to effect this by giving the shank of the type a shape like the stone of an arch; Donkin and Bacon, by attaching types to the sides of a revolving prism; but Cowper, more successfully, and for which he obtained a patent, by curving the stereotype plate, and thus fixing it on the cylinder in a perfectly secure manner.

By this time the powers of the steam-press were fully

understood, and the object of the machinist was confined to a simplification of the wheels and moving apparatus. There was no difficulty in the merely printing on one side, but it is a very difficult problem to place the second side precisely upon the back of the first. This, however, was accomplished, and Applegarth and Cowper set up a machine which finished nearly 1000 sheets per hour, of which the annexed drawing will give some idea to our readers.

The moistened quires of blank paper being piled upon table A, the boy on the adjoining platform takes up one sheet after another, and lays them upon feeder B, which has several linen girths passing across its surface, and round a pulley at each end of the feeder, so that, whenever the pulleys begin to revolve, the motion of the girths carries forward the sheet, and delivers it over the inking roller E, where it is embraced between two series of endless tapes, that pass round a series of tension rollers. These tapes are so placed as to fall partly within, and partly exterior to, the pages of the printing, whereby they remain in close contact with the sheet of paper on both of its sides during its progress through the machine. The paper is thus conducted from the first printing cylinder F, to the second cylinder G, without having the truth of its register impaired, so that the coincidence of the two pages is perfect. The

drums, H and I, serve to conduct the sheet evenly from the one printing cylinder to the other. One series of tapes commences at the upper end of the entering drum



E, proceeds in contact with the right hand side and under surface of the printing cylinder F, passes next over the carrier drum H, and under carrier drum I, then,

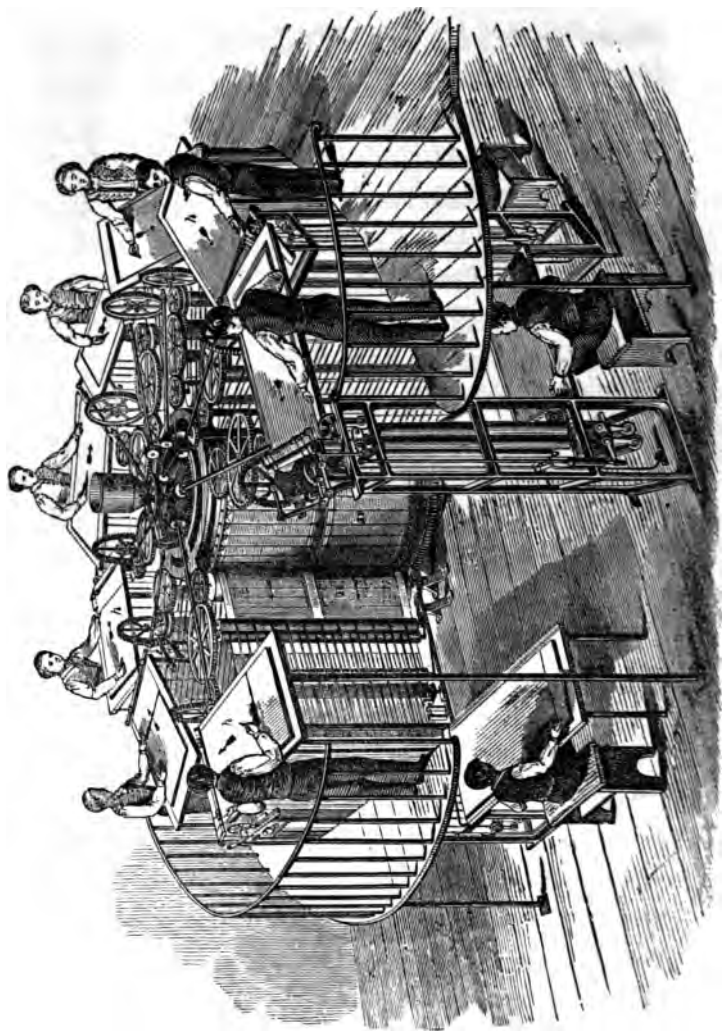


encompassing the left hand side and under portion of the printing drum G, it passes in contact with the small tension rollers, and finally at the roller E, which may be called the commencement of the one series of endless tapes. The second series descends from a point on the entering drum E, when it meets and coincides with the first series in such a way, that both sets of tapes proceed together under the printing cylinder F, over H, under I, and round G, until they arrive at the point where they separate. These various cylinders and drums revolve very truly, by means of a system of toothed wheels and pinions mounted at their ends. Two horizontal forms of types are laid at a certain distance apart upon the long carriage M, adjoining to each of which there is a flat metallic plate or inking table in the same plane. This common carriage is moved backward and forward upon rollers attached to the framework, and in its traverse brings the types into contact with the sheet of paper, clasped by the tapes round the surface of the printing cylinders.

Although the speed of the first machine was equal to turning out 1800 papers per hour, increased subsequently to 4200 each hour, still, latterly, this was found too limited for the demands of *The Times*, which required 10,000 per hour. To meet such a demand required the abandonment of the reciprocating

cating motion of the type form, and so to arrange it as to make the motion continuous, for which only the circular motion could do. Accordingly, a large central vertical drum, or cylinder, in *The Times* printing machine (this is 200 inches, and 64 inches in diameter), was set up, to which the columns of type were fixed. This drum is surrounded by eight cylinders, also placed with their axes vertically, upon which the paper is carried by tapes in the usual manner. Thus, in every revolution of the drum, the type form is successfully pressed against each of the eight cylinders; and the type being successively inked, and each of the eight cylinders supplied with paper, eight sheets of paper will be printed in one revolution of the drum. Of this the annexed drawing will give a general idea of this ingenious and masterly machine, by which *The Times* is supplied to the world.

Before concluding this branch of our subject, it may be stated that, by this machine, 50,000 impressions have been taken without stopping to brush the form or table; indeed, the vertical machine is capable of almost unlimited extension, and Mr. Applegath offered to the Royal Commission of the Royal Exhibition to make a machine which, with no rate of motion more rapid than that of *The Times*, should print 40,000 sheets per hour, or about eleven sheets between every two ticks of a



common clock. The rate of *The Times* machine will deliver from 10,000 to 11,000 per hour, but with expert men to deliver the sheets, a still greater speed may be attained; and there is no doubt that the vertical position of the inking rollers is more conducive to the goodness and clearness of the work, for the type and engraving are only touched on their extreme surface, than the horizontal machine, where the inking rollers act by gravity; besides, any dust shaken out of the paper, which formerly was deposited upon the inking rollers, now falls upon the floor.

The circumstance that contributed most to increase the influence of the newspaper press, was the employment of reporters and of writers of eminence, to whom the management of certain portions were committed. Perry, of the *Morning Chronicle*, was the first who effected a great improvement in the matter of reporting, by the employment of a series of gentlemen who should relieve each other by turns. Thus he was enabled to give in the morning all the debates which had taken place in the Houses of Parliament in the preceding night, a practice which has been ever since regularly continued. The gentlemen engaged as reporters generally possess a liberal education, and from practice are so expert, that it is not uncommon for one reporter to supply from the notes of three quarters

of an hour, matter for two or three closely printed columns. The students of the law, and gentlemen admitted to the bar, in the early part of their career frequently employ their leisure hours in this way; and Lord Campbell, Mr. Justice Talfourd, Charles Dickens, Sergeant Spankie, and Sir James Stephen, are among those who once filled the position of reporters.

To one of these gentlemen we are indebted for a graphic description of a scene between Erskine and Pitt, in which the powers of the former were evidently paralysed by the byplay of the latter. "Pitt, evidently intending to reply to Erskine, sat with pen and paper in hand, prepared to note the arguments of this formidable adversary. He wrote a word or two. Erskine proceeded; but with every additional sentence Pitt's attention to the paper relaxed, his look became more careless, and he obviously began to think the orator less worthy of his attention. At length, while every eye in the House was fixed upon him, with a contemptuous smile Pitt dashed the pen through the paper, and flung it on the floor. Erskine never recovered from this expression of disdain—his voice faltered—he struggled through the remainder of his speech—and sunk into his seat totally dispirited;" (of course, it must be understood that the speeches were always delivered extempore.)

This scene recalls to my memory another of a somewhat similar description, but in which the father of Pitt was the actor. Once having concluded a speech, and finding no opponent rise, Pitt slowly walked out of the House; he had already opened the lobby door, when a member started up, saying, "I rise to reply to the right hon. gentleman." Pitt, catching the words, stopped short, turned round, and fixed his eyes on the orator, who at that steady and scornful gaze sat down again, silent and abashed. Pitt, who was then suffering from gout, returned to his seat, repeating to himself as he hobbled along some lines of Virgil, which express the ascendancy of Eneas, then placing himself on the front bench, he exclaimed, "Now let me hear what the hon. member has to say to me," but nothing ensued. Butler asked his informant, who was present, whether the House did not laugh at the ridiculous figure of the poor member? "No, Sir," he replied, "we were all too much awed to laugh."

Another scene from the same source may be noted, in which the interest is deeper, as well as because it is connected with one born and bred a printer. In order fully to understand the case, however, it may be as well to enter into some previous explanation. No philosopher, and certainly few connected with the profession, but have heard of the name of Franklin, if for no other

reason but for the part he played in the stirring scenes of his time. Bred a printer in America, of which Franklin was a native, but labouring as journeyman in that profession in London; afterwards returning to America, he commenced business on his own account; was proprietor of a newspaper, and, when the disputes between the two countries commenced, joined the popular movement, and, it is understood, contributed by his position, as deputy postmaster-general, to aid and assist it. Whilst the misunderstanding was progressing, Franklin was appointed, by the province of Massachusetts, agent at the court of London. Whilst here, it was believed at the time, that, by very equivocal means, Franklin got possession of certain letters from the Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Justice of Massachusetts to Mr. Whateley, who had been private secretary of Lord Grenville, but had died in the previous year, recommending the employment of a military force for the suppression of the discontents there. These Franklin transmitted, under an injunction of secrecy, to the Speaker of the House of Assembly in America, by which body they were considered as evidence of a conspiracy to destroy the liberties of the colonies, and under a false pretence made public. In consequence, a petition to the King was agreed to, praying for the recall of the Lieutenant-Governor and the Chief Justice.

Instead of giving a temperate answer, the petition was referred to the Privy Council, that the question might be publicly discussed. On the day of hearing, thirty-five privy councillors attended, and so great was the interest excited, that the adjoining rooms and passages of the Council Chamber were crowded by an innumerable multitude. Alone, in a recess on the left, but behind Lord Gower, the president, stood Franklin, remaining the whole time in the same posture, his head resting on his left hand, immoveable, and apparently indifferent to aspersion. Dunning and Lee, who were employed, are said to have spoken very feebly for the petitioners. Wedderburn, for the Crown, required no stimulus. After disposing of the professed object of the petition, which, he alleged, was of no less magnitude than whether the Crown should ever be permitted to continue or employ a faithful and steady servant in the administration of a colony, Wedderburn turned to the main object—the manner in which these private letters had been obtained. “How they came into the possession of any one but the right owners,” he said, “is still a mystery for Dr. Franklin to explain. He was not the rightful owner, and they could not have come into his hands by fair means. Nothing will acquit Dr. Franklin of the charge of obtaining them by fraudulent or corrupt means, for the most malignant of purposes, unless



he stole them from the person who stole them. I hope, my Lords, you will mark and brand the man, for the honour of this country, of Europe, and of mankind. Private correspondence has hitherto been held sacred in times of the greatest party rage, not only in politics but in religion. The betrayer of it has forfeited all the respect of the good, and of his own associates. Into what companies will the fabricator of this iniquity hereafter go with an unembarrassed face, or with any semblance of the honest intrepidity of virtue? Men will watch him with a jealous eye—they will hide their papers from him, and lock up their escritaires. It is impossible to read his account, expressive of the coolest and most deliberate malice, without horror, amidst the tragical events of one person nearly murdered—of another answerable for the issue—of a worthy governor hurt in his dearest interests—the fate of America in suspense. Here is a man who, with the utmost insensibility of remorse, stands up and avows himself the author of all. I can compare him only to Zanga, in Dr. Young's 'Revenge.'

—' Know, then, 'twas I—

I forged the letter—I disposed the picture—

I hated, I despised, and I destroy.'

I ask, my Lords, whether the revengeful temper attributed by poetic fiction only to the bloody-minded

African, is not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily New Englander?"

The effect of this invective upon the hearers, was greater than almost any thing we read of in the history of English eloquence. Even those opposed to Wedderburn were not more astonished by the brilliancy of his lightning, than astounded by the thunder that accompanied it; whilst it must not be denied that private feelings gave poignancy and virulence to the declamatory powers of the Solicitor-general. The petition was voted false, groundless, vexatious, and scandalous. The king confirmed the report, and Franklin was dismissed from his office of deputy postmaster-general. There is no doubt that Franklin felt keenly, although affecting to despise, the vituperation. Years afterwards, on the occasion of signing in Paris, as ambassador of the United States, the articles of peace with Great Britain, he was dressed in the identical dress of Manchester velvet which he had worn on the occasion referred to, and which dress had never from that time nor afterwards been worn.

There is little doubt that the publication of these letters, and the scene at the council, was the turning-point, perhaps the cause of the separation, of the two countries. For upwards of two years previously, almost every symptom of discontent had disappeared in the

colonies, except amongst some few particular individuals, who were, contrary to the general wish, anxious to widen the breach in order to produce separation; and ministers were equally disposed to remove every cause of quarrel. The duty on tea had been kept on by one casting vote, contrary to the wish of the minister, the Duke of Grafton. Franklin never forgave the aspersions cast upon him; he threw the whole weight of his power and influence into the scale against this country, and succeeded in separating for ever the states of America from the empire of Britain.

How Franklin became possessed of the letters has never been positively ascertained. In 1820, Dr. Hosack claimed the honour of the theft for Dr. Hugh Williamson; but this gentleman was then in the West Indies. Mr. John Adams alleged that Temple, afterwards Sir John, had told him that he communicated them to Franklin; but the latter declared he had received them from an M.P., which Temple was not.

It is a singular coincidence, that on the occasion of signing the terms of peace, the minister of the French monarch, under whose auspices the treaty was concluded, had been at one period of his life bred as a bookbinder, whilst Franklin was well known as a printer. This gave occasion to the *bon-mot* of Louis upon the fact being stated to him, that one of them should print the treaty

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and the other should bind it. Little did Louis XVI. then imagine that his enmity to Great Britain, and the principles he had assisted to evolve and bring to a successful issue, should so shortly afterwards bear the bitter fruit of revolution, and bring him to the scaffold, and that his family should pay the penalty of his folly, and be scattered abroad wanderers over Europe.

There are many other cases of a similar character, where the members of the printing profession might be mentioned as largely involved in important political measures, affecting the stability of empires. It is well known that during the period of the French Revolution, and more especially during the latter portion, many of the ministers of the empire and of the crown were indebted to their connection with the press for the position which they had attained.

One branch of the art, that of printing for the *blind*, ought not to be omitted from this little sketch, if it were only to shew that some alleviation is thereby obtained for this most unfortunate class, shut out from the observation of the beauties of the material world, who must otherwise have continued to sit in darkness but for this discovery, and been condemned to the loneliness of their own thoughts. The benevolent Abbé Haüy, superintendent of the institution for the blind at Paris, was the first to whom the idea was

suggested in 1784. It is a merciful dispensation, that with persons deprived of one of their senses, those that are left become doubly sensitive—a fact which, in the case of the blind, is perhaps more especially observable, their sense of touch being proverbially acute. Observing a proof sheet which had only been printed on one side, on which consequently the letters appeared at the back in considerable relief, Haüy imagined that by some such process the blind might be taught to read. The idea was happily improved upon, and thus an opportunity has been afforded to those so afflicted of becoming acquainted, not only with the ideas and sentiments of those masters of knowledge who had preceded them, but also as well as of those of their companions who were suffering from the same misfortune. Nay, even the blind themselves have been taught the art, and are employed in printing some of their own books. For the purpose of the blind the letters are cast in an angular form, as being more easily distinguishable. They are also, under the name of fretted letters, formed of a succession of points in printing, with which the paper is almost perforated. The types employed are always large, similar to those used in pulpit Bibles, and are cast in relief. The pupil is taught to read with the first and second fingers of his right hand, whilst he keeps the line he is upon

with the forefinger of his left; and his sense of touch is ordinarily so acute, that he is generally able to read after a few lessons, even when the hand is covered with a glove.

Various improvements have been made to facilitate the introduction of these books for the use of the blind,—in France, by M. Guillie, the successor of M. Haüy, at Vienna, by Treusinsky, and recently by the imperial printing-press, also at Vienna, at which several volumes have been printed; but the principal improvement has been made by Mr. James Gall of Edinburgh, within the last twenty years, who succeeded in printing the Gospel of St. John, the Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians, the Acts of the Apostles, and various small tracts for the blind, specially for the London Tract Society. The Rev. M. Taylor of York published Diagrams of Euclid's Elements of Geometry in an embossed or tangible form. This mode of embossing was produced, we believe, by forcing the paper by means of heavy pressure into the deep outlines of a copper plate. In America the practice has been zealously pursued, particularly by Dr. Howe, who, by compressing the several letters of the alphabet, cutting off all the flourishes and points about the letters, so modified the whole as to preserve the original forms sufficiently to be easily read by all.

So much attention has been bestowed upon production in books for the blind, that a magazine was, some few years past, specially published for their use, but it only continued for about two years.

Neither has the public ingenuity been limited to such endeavours; for various ingenious contrivances have been made to employ the printing-press in facilitating and improving various necessary labours. The lithographic process, combined with the art of applying coloured inks, has greatly improved the appearance and style of execution of musical works. Neither is this art confined to these works, but prints nearly equal to drawings are executed in a manner so superior as to tend greatly to the improvement of the public taste. In this race of progression we are largely indebted to the skill of the persons employed in the Imperial Printing-Office at Vienna, who, by a nicety and taste in execution, have succeeded in transferring to paper specimens of plants nearly equal to the originals; so that it is only after a close inspection that they can be discovered to be merely copies. In this manner, leaves, mosses, plants, and other similar objects can be produced, the perfect representation of which requires a minuteness of detail, which is not within the province of the human hand to execute. Indeed it may be truly said these representations are taken from the life, each filament being distinct to the

touch; so that it might be difficult to persuade any person ignorant of the process, that the specimens of nature's printing are productions of the printing-press.

It would be interesting to trace accurately the history of the censorship of the press, with all its modifications and encroachments, as they gradually arose in various countries. This custom was observed at a period long anterior to the epoch of the invention of printing; for, throughout the history of literature, we find instances of persons on whom devolved the charge of examining the works of various authors. The different universities of Europe more particularly exercised this authority; and the booksellers appointed by them were compelled to take an oath, that they would observe the various statutes and regulations, and no one could sell any works without this permission. They were also obliged to put up in their shops a catalogue of the prices of their books, and such as were deemed unfit for perusal were burnt by order of the university. Savigny tells us that the *Stationarii* of Bologna were compelled by oath to keep by them copies of 117 books, for the hire of which there was a fixed price.

At first, privileges, as they were called, were granted to the printer for a period of five or seven years, in order to secure to him some return for his labours.



The first instance on record is one granted by the Senate of Venice to John of Spire, in 1469, for five years, for an edition of Cicero's *Epistles*, the first book printed in that city. There are a few other instances of this, and it was the custom to enter the privilege at the end of the work.

But the interference of the censor soon ceased to be exerted only for the protection of the author and printer. These, finding that by their art they were enabled to address thousands of beings, promulgated opinions deemed dangerous by the governments of Europe, and they began to be circulated amongst various nations through the medium of the press; and the Church of Rome thundered forth, though in vain, her bulls for the suppression of the doctrines propagated by the champions of the Reformation. Beckmann gives us the first instance of the appointment of a censor, in a mandate issued by Berthold, Archbishop of Mentz, in 1486:—

“Notwithstanding,” he begins, “the facility given to the acquisition of science by the divine art of printing, it has been found that some abuse this invention, and convert that which was designed for the instruction of mankind to their injury. For books on the duties and doctrines of religion are translated from Latin into German, and circulated among the people, to the disgrace of religion itself; and some have even had the

rashness to make faulty versions of the Canons of the Church into the vulgar tongue, which belongs to the science, so difficult that it is enough to occupy the life of the wisest man. Can such men assert that our German language is capable of expressing what great authors have written in Greek and Latin on the high mysteries of the Christian faith, and on general science? Certainly it is not, and hence they either invent new words, or use old ones in erroneous senses, a thing especially dangerous in sacred Scripture. For who will admit that men without learning, or women into whose hands these translations may fall, can find the true sense of the gospels or of the epistles of St. Paul? Much less can they enter on questions which, even among Catholic writers, are open to subtle discussion. But since this art was first discovered in this city of Mentz, and we may truly say by divine aid, and is to be maintained by us in all its honours, we strictly forbid all persons to translate, or circulate when translated, any books upon any subject whatever, from the Greek, Latin, or any other tongue, into German, until, before printing, and again before their sale, such translations shall be approved by four doctors herein named, under penalty of excommunication, and of forfeiture of the books, and of one hundred golden florins to the use of our exchequer."

This document paints strongly the anxiety of the Roman clergy to curb the freedom of the press. That body of literature-despots at Rome, known as "The Congregation of the Index," set their ban upon every work adverse to their own tenets; and it is amusing to think of the surprise that must have been felt by many of the minor literary inquisitors of the other cities in Europe, when they found many even of their own works put down in the Roman Index,—that literary purge which Milton so forcibly describes as raking "*through the entrails of many an old good author with a violation worse than any that could be offered to his tomb.*"

Poor Richard Sinion was a victim to this; for, being compelled to insert in one of his works the qualifying opinions of the censor of the Sorbonne, he enclosed the alterations between brackets, so that the public might clearly distinguish between the author and the censor. But, alas! his care was futile; for, neglecting to mention his plan to the printer, the numerous copies appeared without the essential marks, and our readers may imagine the despair of the author, when he found that these alterations flowed into the original text, and overturned all the peculiar opinions he sought to maintain.

There were but few disputes about copyright before the time of Charles II., although all familiar with the despotism displayed during the reign of Henry VIII.

and Mary, in the suppression and destruction of suspected works. In some cases, however, they produced an advantage instead of suppressing the books. Of this, the story respecting Tindal's New Testament is a case in point. Tindal, bishop of London, employed an English merchant at Antwerp to procure all the copies he could find in that city. On being applied to, Tindal readily gave up all in his possession, as he was anxious to print a better edition. The bishop made a bonfire of them; but the result was very unsatisfactory; it was said to be a *burning of the word of God*, and increased the general anxiety for procuring the second edition. Subsequently a party sent to London to sell copies was arrested, and on the assurance of the Chancellor readily announced that Tindal, bishop of London, was the great encourager, as by buying up the first edition he had occasioned the rapid sale of the second.

Under the reign of Charles I. a regular establishment was formed for the licensing of books. In a letter from J. Mead to Sir M. Stuteville, July 19, 1628, it is mentioned that Charles printed his speech on his dissolution of parliament, and, in consequence of the dissatisfaction it occasioned, some one printed the last speech of Queen Elizabeth as a companion piece. This was presented to the king by his chief printer, with a complaint that his privileges had been invaded, as he

asserted that it was his own copyright. He got no other reply, however, from the somewhat displeased monarch than "*You printers print any thing.*" and some gentlemen of the bedchamber who were present prayed the printer to bring more of these rarities to the king, because "they might do him good."

It is well known how many noble and eloquent compositions have suffered from the royal licensers. Authors were, however, at last relieved from the grievous oppressions of the Star Chamber, as we find an act was passed in the eighth year of Anne's reign, securing to them the exclusive right of printing their books for fourteen years certain, and, provided the author should still be living at the end of that term, an additional fourteen years were to be granted to him. By the act just mentioned, authors were imperatively required to send one copy of their works to the following libraries—viz., to the Royal Library, now the British Museum; to the two English, the four Scotch universities; Sion College, London, and Faculty of Advocates. This act extended only to England; but in 1811 the act was extended to Ireland, and additional copies were to be sent to Trinity College and King's Inn, both in Dublin.

A new act was passed in 1814, when all copyrights were extended to twenty-eight years; if the author was

living then, the benefit of his literary labours continued to him.

By the act 5 and 6 Vic., the period of copyright was extended to the end of the author's life, or seven years after, if he should die before forty-three years after first publication; and by act of 6 and 7 Wil. IV., no copies were required for Sion College, the four universities of Scotland, or the King's Inn in Dublin, and also prohibiting the importation of books printed abroad, where copyright existed. International copyright acts have recently been made with France and some of the German states : but the Americans think at present it is for their interest to refuse any agreement, the balance of authors being greatly against them—so that they can plunder us more securely than we can injure them.

And now, before I conclude, a word or two to those who have just entered into the profession—an honourable and useful one, and, as I have endeavoured to show, not without its reward. You have been admitted within the porch of this literary building. If you have no anxiety or ambition but to pass your time as hodmen or paddy labourers, are satisfied with being able to follow your copy without caring to understand whether that is sense or otherwise, like the Chinese tailor, who—being employed to make a pair of breeches, and having an old pair given to him as a pattern of size—not only produced a

pair of the precise dimensions, but even repeated the botching and patching of the pattern; why, in that case, there will be no difficulty in satisfying your pitiful ambition. If, on the contrary—and which I would gladly hope is the case with all—you desire to be admitted into the body of the literary temple, to become worthy members of the literary world—this can only be accomplished by resolution, perseverance, and industry—by usefully employing every hour you can spare from necessary employment—and every one has abundance of time, however early or late he may be engaged, if the will exists, for the acquisition of knowledge. In the first instance, acquaint yourself with the authors of your own country, and next with those in the dead or foreign languages. By this means your minds will become enlarged, and you will be admitted to the acquaintanceship of those stars of the firmament whose writings have been preserved and perpetuated by means of the art to which you have engaged yourselves.

Perhaps, some may say, and it is the excuse of the idle and the sluggard, you wish, but have not time. Reflect for a moment. How much more than is necessary do you spend in sleep? How much do you readily abstract from that necessity of life when some vulgar amusement bespeaks your attention? “Sleep, sleep,” said a writer of former times; “there is sleep

enough in the grave!" Not that I mean to go so far in its proscription, but to limit it to the proper requirements of life. What time do you spend in idleness, or in the common resort of the idler, the beer-shop or the public-house? I need hardly say that every hour so spent is little else than waste. Franklin's example is well worth attention. His success in life was secured by his great industry, frugality, and shrewdness. He spent no time in taverns, games, or frolics of any kind; reading was the only amusement he allowed himself. If you properly employ these loose moments which occur to every one, and use them in improving your minds, you raise yourselves *one step* above your fellows, and acquire information which may contribute essentially to your future prosperity and advantage. Nothing is unattainable to the determined mind that is not absolutely impossible. "The longer I live," says Goethe, "the more I am certain that the great difference between men—the great and insignificant—is energy, an invincible determination, an honest purpose once fixed, and then death or victory." That talent will do any thing in the world; and no talents, no circumstances, no opportunity, will make a two-legged creature a man without it. I may illustrate the truth of this remark of the learned German, by a few words respecting a gentleman whom I shall ever hold in respect. An old



schoolmaster of mine, and a most worthy man, was originally a herd boy, tending a few sheep on the barren hills of Perthshire, one of the then remote and desolate districts of Scotland. By some accident he got possession of a book; patiently and perseveringly he acquired a knowledge of its contents. By this the seed was sown, and the thirst for more information brought him to Edinburgh. Here he was at the fountain head. Out of the scanty means granted to his labour, he added book to book—spent his dinner-hour in one of the quiet common stairs so frequent in Edinburgh, eating his scanty meal, yet still pursuing with unconquerable avidity the acquisition of knowledge, until, through sheer perseverance, he became one of the first Latin and Greek scholars of his day, and has left to posterity several literary works, which will long preserve his memory, and show that he had not lived nor laboured in vain. Imitate, then, the example of this most worthy man, and if one *scintilla* of the beam of light which struck upon his mind should also illuminate yours, the gratification, as well as advantages, will soon be apparent to yourselves, and you will be encouraged to persevere. When your fathers painted their bodies, and lived in caves and hollows of the wood, in what did they differ from you? They possessed the same bones and sinews—the same flesh and blood—the

same powers of comprehension and understanding—in what did they differ from you? The light of knowledge and of Christianity, that “day spring from on high,” had not then shone upon the land. Your lot is fallen in pleasant places. The means of acquiring knowledge is to be found at every corner—even the most ignorant possess the reflected light which has been scattered with no niggard hand over the most secluded portions of this country.

Perhaps you may allege that the wages of a journeyman printer are so limited, that the means, as well as the time, are wanting to enable you to acquire knowledge. What one man can do, cannot be impossible to another under the same circumstances. John Patterson, a journeyman printer of Albany, has managed to gather an immense amount of learning, the usual fruit of a studious habit, and even to collect some little cash, wherewith to season his attic lore. He is not only versed in every branch of mathematics, but can read and write Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Arabic, with as much ease and fluency as he can English. In the different living languages, he is equally well—as the Americans say—“posted up,” as he can converse in every language spoken in Europe, with no aid but industry, and no higher salary than that which is bestowed upon a journeyman printer; besides all these,

he possesses one of the best selected libraries in the city of Albany, says the American editor, and, although the statement is extraordinary, it is certainly not improbable nor apocryphal.

To the printer is confided the powers of the pen and of the type, which latter, in the impressive language of the Spaniard, is only *literas exscuta per molte*—letters written from the mould;—if he suffers the pen to remain idle in the stand—the type to remain broken in pye—the time will come, as it comes to all men, when he will painfully regret that he had wasted or misused the powers and faculties which the God of nature had most liberally bestowed upon him, and been content to continue to wallow in the mire and filth of ignorance. But I hope better things: that he will be encouraged by the bright example of those literary pioneers who have preceded him, and, as far as in him lies, spread the light of knowledge and of understanding over the earth. I conclude these remarks in the words of Menander addressed to his pen; for, as I have before said, the type is but the pen in another form:—

“I was a useless reed—no clusters hung  
My brow with purple grapes; no blossom flung  
The coronet of crimson on my stem;  
No apple blush'd upon me—nor (the gem  
Of flowers) the violet, strew'd the yellow heath  
Around my feet; not jessamine's sweet wreath

Robed me in silver—day and night I pined  
On the lone moor, and shiver'd in the wind.  
At length a poet found me : from my side  
He smooth'd the pale and wither'd leaves, and dyed  
My lips in Helicon. From that high hour  
*I spoke !*—my words were flame and living power.  
All the wide wonders of the earth were mine,  
Far as the surges roll or sunbeams shine,  
Deep as the earth's bosom hides the emerald,  
High as the hills with thunder clouds are pall'd;  
And there was sweetness round me, that the dew  
Had never wet so sweet on violets blue.  
To me the mighty sceptre was a wand,  
The roar of nations peel'd at my command;  
To me the dungeon, sword, or scourge were vain,  
I smote the smiter, and I broke the chain;  
Or, towering o'er them all without a plume,  
I pierced the purple air, the tempest's gloom;  
Till blazed the Olympian glories on my eye,  
Stars, temples, thrones, and God's infinity."



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